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Novum Testamentum is a leading international journal devoted to the study of the New Testament and related subjects. It covers textual and literary criticism, critical interpretation, theology and the historical and literary background of the New Testament, as well as early Christian and related Jewish literature.

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Contributors

Prof. Dr. MATTHIAS KLINGHARDT, Technische Universität Dresden, Philosophische Fakultät, Institut für evangelische Theologie, Helmholtzstraße 10, 01069 *Dresden*, Germany – Mr. HIKMAT KACHOUH, 24 Weoly Park Road, Selley Oak, *Birmingham* B29 6QX, UK – Mr. DAVID MATHEWSON, Gordon College, 255 Grapevine Road, *Wenham*, MA 01984, USA – Dr. PETER M. HEAD, University of Cambridge, Tyndale House, 36 Selwyn Gardens, *Cambridge* CB3 9BA, UK – Rev. DALE M. WHEELER, Ph.D., Multnomah Bible College, 8435 NE Glisan Street, *Portland*, OR 97220, USA – Mr. WIELAND WILKER, Mittelwiese 1, 28215 *Bremen*, Germany – Prof. Dr. CHRISTOPH STENSCHKE, Bahnhofstr. 1, 51702 *Bergneustadt*, Germany – Professor J.K. ELLIOTT, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, The University of Leeds, *Leeds* LS2 9JT, UK

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Professor Dr Cilliers Breytenbach

Executive Editor *Novum Testamentum*

Theologische Fakultät

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Unter den Linden 6

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The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem: A New Suggestion

Matthias Klinghardt

Dresden

Abstract

The most recent debate of the Synoptic Problem resulted in a dead-lock: The best-established solutions, the Two-Source-Hypothesis and the Farrer-Goodacre-Theory, are burdened with a number of apparent weaknesses. On the other hand, the arguments raised *against* these theories are cogent. An alternative possibility, that avoids the problems created by either of them, is the inclusion of the gospel used by Marcion. This gospel is not a redaction of Luke, but rather precedes Matthew and Luke and, therefore, belongs into the maze of the synoptic interrelations. The resulting model avoids the weaknesses of the previous theories and provides compelling and obvious solutions to the notoriously difficult problems.

Keywords

Marcion, Marcionite Gospel, Synoptic Problem

I. The Current State of the Discussion

Recently, the debate of the synoptic problem has gained momentum again when Mark Goodacre argued his “Case Against Q”.¹ His sharp and deliberate renewal of the so-called Farrer-Goulder hypothesis proposes a model of the literary relations among the first three gospels which maintains the literary priority of Mark, but dispenses with “Q”, thus resulting in a “*Benutzungshypothese*” with Matthew using and enlarging Mark, and Luke re-editing Matthew.²

¹ M. Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 2002).

² Cf. A. Farrer, “On Dispensing with Q,” in D.E. Nineham (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955) 55-88; M. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNT.S 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989); B. Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources and Literary Context* (JSNT.S 215; London: Sheffield

The first principle of this model, the Markan priority, is directed against the "Neo-Griesbach" or "Two-Gospel" theory (2GT) and its assumption of Markan posteriority, as it was proposed by the late William R. Farmer for many years now and is still held by a number of scholars under his inspiration.³ Without going into detail, the arguments for Markan priority as collected and summarized by Goodacre are convincing. At least, they have certainly convinced the majority of scholars in this field.⁴ Even though arguments should not be counted, but measured, it seems justifiable at this point to go along with this cornerstone: I consider the Markan priority to be well substantiated and, therefore, will not call it into question. Goodacre's second principle, Luke's dependence on Matthew, is more complicated. Since the Two-Document hypothesis (2DH) is based on the categorical independence of Luke and Matthew, this principle lies at the heart of Goodacre's "Case against Q". Consequently, he devotes the major part of his argumentation to this problem and tries to refute the counter-arguments that have been raised by the proponents of the 2DH against former attempts to link Luke directly to Matthew. It is this part of Goodacre's "Case" that proved to be controversial and met with criticism.⁵ Since this debate focuses on the most important issues of the synoptic problem and

Academic Press, 2002). As it is often the case in the discussion of the synoptic problem, there are forerunners for this theory, cf. P. Foster, "Is it Possible to Dispense with Q?", *NovT* 45 (2003) 313-37: 314.

³ Among the more recent works are W.R. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus: The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994); Allan McNicol, *Jesus' Directions for the Future: A Source and Redaction-History Study of the Use of the Eschatological Traditions in Paul and in the Synoptic Accounts of Jesus' Last Eschatological Discourse* (New Gospel Studies 9; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1994); David B. Peabody, "Luke's Sequential Use of the Sayings of Jesus from Matthew's Great Discourses. A Chapter in the Source-Critical Analysis of Luke on the Two Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis," in R.P. Thompson and Th.E. Phillips (eds.), *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) 37-58.

⁴ Goodacre, *Case*, 19-45; see also: M. Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way through the Maze* (London/New York: Sheffield University Press, 2001) 56-83. For a thorough assessment of the argument of order see D. Neville, *Arguments from Order in Synoptic Source Criticism: A History and Critique* (Leuven: Peeters; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1994).

⁵ J.S. Kloppenborg, "On Dispensing with Q?: Goodacre on the Relation of Luke to Matthew", *NTS* 49 (2003) 210-36; F.G. Downing, "Dissolving the Synoptic Problem Through Film?", *JSNT* 84 (2001) 117-118; P. Foster, "Is it Possible". Cf. also the reviews by Chr. M. Tuckett, *NovT* 46 (2004) 401-403; C.S. Rodd, *JTS* 54 (2003) 687-691.

the solution it found in the widely accepted, yet vehemently challenged 2DH, I simply summarize the most important arguments as the means of an introduction into the problem.

There are, basically, two positive arguments supporting Goodacre's "Markan priority without Q" hypothesis (MwQH) and its assumption of Luke's direct dependence on Matthew: the minor agreements and the hypothetical character of "Q".⁶ Although it is not a new insight that both observations raise serious objections to the 2DH, the weak responses to these arguments prove that it is necessary to bring them into discussion from time to time. As for the minor agreements, Goodacre has a strong point insisting on the principal independence of Matthew and Luke according to the 2DH.⁷ This excludes the evasive solution that, although basically independent from one another, Luke knew and used Matthew in certain instances.⁸ Methodologically, it is not permissible to develop a theory on a certain assumption and then abandon this very assumption in order to get rid of some left over problems the theory could not sufficiently explain. The methodological inconsistency of this solution would be less severe, if "Q" existed. But since "Q" owes its existence completely to the conclusions drawn from a hypothetical model, such an argument flies in the face of logic: it annuls its own basis. This is the reason why Goodacre's reference to the hypothetical character of "Q" carries a lot of weight.⁹ More weight, certainly, than Kloppenborg would concede: he tries to insinuate that Mark is as hypothetical as "Q", since Mark "is not an extant *document*, but a *text* that is reconstructed from much later manuscripts."¹⁰ This exaggeration disguises the critical point: the hypothetical character of the "document Q" would certainly not pose a problem, if "Q" was based on existing manuscript evidence the way Mark is. It is, therefore, important to see that

⁶ Goodacre, *Case*, 5-7 and 152-169.

⁷ Kloppenborg does not comment on the minor agreements, because they are in compliance with Goodacre's theory ("On Dispensing," 226-7); he does, however, agree with the fundamental independence of Luke and Matthew for the 2DH (221).

⁸ Cf. Foster ("Is it Possible", 326), with reference to Chr. M. Tuckett, "On the Relationship between Matthew and Luke," *NTS* 30 (1984) 130.

⁹ M. Goodacre, "Ten Reasons to Question Q" (online publication at <http://ntgateway.com/Q/ten.htm>). Cf. Kloppenborg ("On Dispensing," 215) who quotes J.P. Meier making fun of the insistence on the hypothetical character of Q (*A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume II: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* [New York/London/Toronto: Doubleday; 1994] 178).

¹⁰ Kloppenborg, "On Dispensing," 215 (*italics in original*).

these two objections are closely related to each other: They prove that the minor agreements are, in fact, "fatal to the Q hypothesis".¹¹

On the other hand, there are serious objections against Luke's assumed dependence on Matthew. Predictably, the criticism of the MwQH concentrates on three observations: (1) Luke betrays no knowledge of either the special Matthean material ("M") or of the Matthean additions to the triple tradition, e.g. Pilate's wife and her dream (Matt. 27:19) or Peter's confession and beatitude (Matt. 16:16-19). (2) Then there is the problem of alternating priority: Although in some instances Luke's version of double tradition material seems to presuppose Matthew, there are a number of striking counter-examples, among which Luke's wording of the Lord's prayer or the first beatitude rank highest. (3) In some cases, the arrangement of double tradition material does not make any sense at all if Luke made use of Matthew as it becomes particularly apparent with the material of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5-7) and its Lukan counterparts. Although these observations carry different weight, their cumulative force renders Luke's simple dependence on Matthew highly improbable. In light of the double tradition material, one is inclined to suggest a Matthean dependence on Luke rather than the other way round.¹²

This outcome is not satisfactory and seems to bring the recent discussion to a sudden stop. Both sides present their strongest arguments in their critique of their respective counterparts but are much less compelling in the solutions they offer. Whereas Goodacre's criticism of the 2DH is convincing, his attempt to understand Luke in direct dependence on Matthew is not: The observation that in some cases Luke seems to be earlier and in other instances Matthew seems to be earlier, cannot be explained with the help of a simple "*Benutzungshypothese*" (the proposal of MwQH) but necessarily requires an additional source. Thus the Janus-faced character of the double tradition is one of the strongest arguments for the 2DH: The assumption of "Q" seemed to solve this problem of mutual influence in the double tradition. For want of an alternative text that could explain this problem of mutual influence in the double tradition, many scholars seem to put up with "Q" in spite of the apparent weaknesses of the 2DH.

¹¹ Against Foster, "Is it Possible", 325.

¹² For the suggestion of Matthean posteriority cf. Foster ("Is it Possible", 333-6); R.V. Huggins, "Matthean Posteriority: A Preliminary Proposal," *NovT* 34 (1992) 1-22.

II. Including Marcion's Gospel

There is, however, an additional, yet long neglected text which indubitably belongs in the maze of the synoptic tradition and which, contrary to the hypothetically reconstructed document "Q", is well attested by ancient sources: the gospel of Marcion, or, more precisely, the gospel which was used by Marcion and the Marcionites (hereafter: Mcn). Although no copy of Mcn has survived, the ancient accounts¹³ of this gospel produce a sufficiently clear picture of its contents, its narrative shape and, in a number of passages, even its wording.

The reason why this gospel was not considered to be part of the synoptic problem is obvious: from the ancient witnesses up to Harnack's seminal and influential book on Marcion the basic judgment is taken for granted that Mcn is "nothing else than an abridged and altered version of the canonical Luke."¹⁴ According to this view, Marcion flawed Luke for theological reasons, cutting out and altering the passages contradicting his own theological convictions. As long as Mcn was regarded to be a revised edition of Luke, there was no reason to include it in the discussion of the synoptic problem. European scholarship agreed on Mcn's posteriority to Luke after a few years of fierce debate, the final stage of which is often considered to be Georg Volckmar's book on Marcion.¹⁵ This debate came

¹³ The most valuable sources are: Book 4 of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* (ed. and trans. by E. Evans; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); book 42 of Epiphanius' *Panarion: Epiphanius II. Panarion haer. 34-64* (eds. K. Holl and J. Dummer; 2nd ed., Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980); and Adamantius, *De recta fide: Der Dialog des Adamantius* Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως (ed. W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen; GCS 4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901). If not indicated otherwise, all references from Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius refer to these works.

¹⁴ A. von Harnack, *Marcion. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche. Neue Studien zu Marcion* (2nd ed., Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996) *240: "Daß das Evangelium Marcions nichts anderes ist als was das altkirchliche Urteil von ihm behauptet hat, nämlich ein verfälschter Lukas, darüber braucht kein Wort mehr verloren zu werden."

¹⁵ G. Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions. Text und Kritik mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen und der Apostolischen Väter. Eine Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst zur Textbestimmung und Erklärung des Lucas-Evangeliums* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1852). With this book, Volckmar abrogated his earlier assumption of Marcion's priority to Luke: G. Volckmar, "Über das Lukas-Evangelium nach seinem Verhältniss zum Evangelium Marcion's und seinem dogmatischen Charakter mit besonderer

to a stop rather than to a solution by the mid-1850's, scarcely a decade after the Two-Source hypothesis was first developed. When the discussion of the Two-Source hypothesis started out in the second half of the century, the idea of Mcn being a revised edition of Luke was long agreed upon and remaining doubts were not strong enough to open further discussions.

The outcome of this debate does not reflect, however, that there was a considerable number of scholars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries who proposed the opposite view and claimed that Mcn be prior to Luke, Luke thus being an enlarged re-edition of Mcn. Among them were exegetical heavyweights such as Johann Salomo Semler, Johann Georg Eichhorn, and Albrecht Ritschl.¹⁶ More important than their names is the fact that their critique of the traditional view has never really been disproved: many cogent reasons for Mcn's priority to Luke are still valid, which means that in many ways it is much easier to regard Luke as an enlarged edition of Mcn than the other way round. This view was convincingly, yet without any consequences, repeated in the 20th century by John Knox.¹⁷

Subject to the condition that Mcn was prior to Luke and thus ought to be included in the discussion of the synoptic relations, the whole picture

Rücksicht auf die kritischen Untersuchungen Ritschl's und Baur's," *Theologische Jahrbücher* 9 (1850) 110-38, 185-235. Like Volckmar, the other major players in this debate between 1846 and 1853, wrote at least twice on the subject and were forced to correct their older views, e.g.: F. Chr. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zueinander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung* (Tübingen: Fues, 1847; repr. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms, 1999).—F. Chr. Baur, *Das Markusevangelium nebst einem Anhang über das Evangelium Marcions* (Tübingen: Fues, 1851).—A. Hilgenfeld, "Das marcionitische Evangelium und seine neueste Bearbeitung," *Theologische Jahrbücher* 12 (1853) 192-244.—A. Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ältesten Evangelien-Literatur* (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1850).—A. Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas. Eine kritische Untersuchung* (Tübingen: Osiander, 1846).—A. Ritschl, "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synoptischen Evangelien," *Theologische Jahrbücher* 10 (1851) 480-538.

¹⁶ J.S. Semler, "Vorrede," in J.S. Semler (ed.), *Thomas Townsons Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien* (Leipzig: Weygand, 1783; unpaginated); J.G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* I (2nd ed., Leipzig: Weidmann, 1820) 72-84; Ritschl, *Evangelium, passim*.

¹⁷ J. Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942; repr. 1980). Some forty years after his well-argued book, John Knox himself reflected on the question why his theses were never really accepted: J. Knox, "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," in E.P. Sanders (ed.), *Jesus, the Gospels, and the Church: Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987) 25-31.

changes considerably. It is the contention of this paper to explore some of the consequences of this perspective for the synoptic problem. Since I have presented the case of Mcn's priority in more detail elsewhere,¹⁸ I can confine myself to a few basic remarks.

1. The main argument against the traditional view of Luke's priority to Mcn relies on the lack of consequence of his redaction: Marcion presumably had theological reasons for the alterations in "his" gospel which implies that he pursued an editorial concept.¹⁹ This, however, cannot be detected. On the contrary, all the major ancient sources give an account of Marcion's text, because they specifically intend to refute him *on the ground of his own gospel*.²⁰ Therefore, Tertullian concludes his treatment of Mcn: "I am sorry for you, Marcion: your labour has been in vain. Even in your gospel Christ Jesus is mine" (4.43.9).

Tertullian was fully aware of the implied inconsequence that Mcn's text did not display the editorial concept he regarded to be responsible for Marcion's assumed alterations. He took it, however, as the means of a deliberate camouflage and explained: Marcion did not alter Luke consequently but retained some passages contradicting his own views, so he could later claim that he had made no changes at all (Tert. 4.43.7). Clearly, this troublesome explanation does not explain anything. Tertullian hardly believed his own argument, but then, his lack of cogency might be due to the fierce conflict with the Marcionites in which he was engaged.

The problem, however, remained and did not escape the critics in the late 18th and early 19th centuries who, after all, were not tied up in an anti-heretical battle. Instead, they were methodologically conscious enough not to force Marcion's text into a pattern they could not really detect. The incoherency between the assumed concept and the data led to the observation that, if Marcion altered Luke for theological reasons, he must have done so very poorly.²¹

¹⁸) M. Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädoyer für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles", *NTS* 52 (2006) 484-513.

¹⁹) E.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2, 4; 3.12.12; 3.14.4; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 1.1.5; 4.3-5; 4.6.2; Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.9.1; 42.10.2 etc. Epiphanius preceded his refutation of Marcion with a list of his "errors" (42.3-8). Cf. Harnack's list of Marcion's errors (*Marcion*, 64).

²⁰) Irenaeus 1.27.4; 3.12.12; Tertullian 4.6.2-4; Epiphanius 42.9.5-6; 10.3, 5; Adamantius, *Dial.* 2.18 (ed. Bakhuyzen, 867a).

²¹) Johann Ernst Christian Schmidt, "Ueber das ächte Evangelium des Lucas, eine Vermuthung", *Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1796) 468-520,

2. According to Tertullian, Marcion claimed that “his” gospel was original, whereas the canonical Luke was a falsification. The charges of adulteration are, therefore, mutual (Tert. 4.4.1). Since the very close literary relation between both texts is beyond any doubt, the only remaining question is: Who edited whom? In this respect, Tertullian’s report of Marcion’s charge against the catholic Christians is very telling: Marcion accused the gospel of Luke “of having been falsified by the upholders of Judaism with a view to its being combined in one body with the law and the prophets.”²² This phrase does not reflect Marcion’s assumed cleansing and restoration of the original “Pauline” gospel but the editorial integration of “his gospel” into the body of the canonical bible of the Old and New Testaments. Reciprocally, Tertullian firmly believed that Marcion re-edited his gospel from the canonical edition, not from a pre-canonical gospel.²³ This proposition is never addressed by those who otherwise follow Tertullian in his charge against Marcion. This inconsistency indicates that Marcion’s assessment as it is reported by Tertullian might be correct: Catholic Christians revised Mcn and integrated it into the canonical Bible.

3. The gravest objection against Marcion’s assumed redaction of Luke is the fact that Mcn obviously did not contain any additional, non-Lukan texts: According to the traditional view, Marcion’s assumed editorial alterations would only have consisted of abridgments but not of enlargements, not to speak of any substantial additions.²⁴ With respect to what we know about editing older texts within the New Testament and its literary envi-

“Nicht genug, daß viele seiner Aenderungen zwecklos sind; --- er ließ judaisierende Stellen in Menge stehen, --- *er änderte seinem Zwecke entgegen!*” (483, my italics).

²² Tert. 4.4.4: (*evangelium*) *interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum.*

²³ Tert. 4.6.1: “Certainly the whole of the work he has done . . . he directs to the one purpose of setting up opposition between the Old Testament and the New.”

²⁴ In only two minor instances did Mcn contain more text than Luke. Interestingly, these surplus passages (*18:19: [ὁ θεός] ὁ πατήρ; *23:2: καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας) do not fit into Marcion’s supposed concept at all, but directly contradict his assumed theology. Since these passages damage the theory of Marcionite alterations of Luke, Harnack understandably, but wrongly downplayed their importance (*Marcion*, 61-62; asterisks in front of references refer to Mcn). These texts appear to be rather deletions by the Lukan redaction, cf. M. Klinghardt, “Gesetz bei Markion und Lukas,” in M. Konradt and D. Sänger (eds.), *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament und im frühen Christentum. FS Christoph Burchard* (NTOA 57, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 102-103.

ronment this procedure would be unique.²⁵ There is not a single example of a contemporary re-edition of an older text that did not support its editorial concept by including additional material. The supporters of the traditional view have duly and with great surprise noted the uniqueness of Marcion's assumed redaction but did not take this hint seriously enough to rethink their presuppositions.²⁶

4. Beyond a simple comparison of both texts, the problems of Mcn being a redaction of Luke extend to the relation of Luke to other New Testament texts, because the assumption of Lukan priority must postulate that Marcion did not only know Luke, but also the other canonical gospels and Acts.²⁷ In particular the relation of Luke-Acts poses a problem. There are, basically, only two solutions: It must be assumed that Marcion found Luke in its canonical combination with Acts, and then dissolved this unity by deleting the Lukan prologue and rejecting Acts.²⁸ This would presuppose that the canonical New Testament (or at least substantial parts of it) preceded the Marcionite "bible", which seems improbable in the light of Harnack's and Campenhausen's ideas about the emergence of the New Testament canon. Therefore, Harnack preferred the solution that Marcion did know Luke-Acts as a two-volume book, but not as part of the New Testament, and chose to use only the gospel. This, however, is improbable for a number of reasons, since Luke and Acts appear in all manuscripts in different sections (gospels; praxapostolos) which are, in all probability, a result of the canonical edition.²⁹ Their unity is provided only by the

²⁵ Cf. Mark—Matthew; Jude—2Peter; Col.—Eph. The same is true for the relationship between 1Thess. and 2Thess., if 2Thess. was written to de-legitimize and replace 1Thess. (cf. A. Lindemann, "Zum Abfassungszweck des Zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes," in idem, *Paulus, Apostel und Lehrer der Kirche* [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1999] 228-240): Although 2Thess. is shorter than 1Thess, the particular editorial concept shows in the addition of 2Thess. 2:1-12.

²⁶ Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 35-36; 61; 68-70; 253-4* etc.; H. von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (BHTh 39; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1968) 188-189.

²⁷ Cf. Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* I (Erlangen/Leipzig: Deichert, 1889) 663-678; Harnack, *Marcion*, 21-22; 40-42; 78-80. Against this procedure cf. Campenhausen (*Entstehung*, 184-187) and, more recently, U. Schmid, "Marcions Evangelien und die neutestamentlichen Evangelien. Rückfragen zur Geschichte der Kanonisierung der Evangelienüberlieferung," in G. May and K. Greschat (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung* (TU 150; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002) 69-74.

²⁸ Harnack, *Marcion*, 256-257* etc. Harnack's proof text from PsTertullian 6 (*Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsim quasi falsa reicit*, ed. Kroymann, 223) does not carry this assumption.

²⁹ Cf. D. Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 26-28, 76-77.

prologues which do not contain the author's name, although this would be a nearly necessary genre requirement, at least for the first volume, in particular with respect to the pronounced historiographical "I" of Luke 1:1-4.³⁰ For readers of an isolated two-volume work "Luke-Acts", the identity of the author would remain a mystery. For readers of the canonical edition, however, the author's name is contained in the superscription of Luke ("Gospel According to Luke") and can without any problems be transferred to Acts—but only if the prologues provide the necessary clues linking both volumes together. This dilemma cannot be solved on the assumption of Lukan priority. The opposite view of Mcn's priority, however, provides an easy solution: in this case, Marcion's charge was correct that a catholic interpolation incorporated "his" gospel into the canonical bible of the Old and New Testaments, made some editorial additions and feigned Luke-Acts as a literary unity.

5. Beside these general observations the most convincing argument for Mcn's priority to Luke is, of course, the demonstration of the editorial process of Lukan redaction. In many individual instances the differences between Mcn and Luke are best understood as editorial additions in Luke rather than reductions by Mcn. The most obvious case is Luke's re-editing of the beginning of Mcn (*3:1a) with its substantial additions and the editorial change of the sequence of *4:31-37 and *4:16-30.³¹ Mcn's priority to Luke is even more convincing when the overall picture of Luke's editorial changes comes into view because most of his editorial changes add up to an integral and consistent concept.³² The editorial concept that could not be detected in Marcion's assumed editorial changes is apparent in Luke, thus confirming the view of Mcn being prior to Luke.

As a result of reversing the literary relations between Luke and Mcn, it is apparent that the historical Marcion did not create "his" gospel but simply shared an older, already existing gospel. It is labelled "Mcn" here because this particular "Proto-Luke" is well attested to be utilized later by Marcion and the Marcionites.

³⁰ L. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTS.MS 78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³¹ Cf. Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas", 496-9.

³² Cf. Klinghardt, "Gesetz", *passim*.

III. Testing the Case

These rather general remarks should be sufficient to include Mcn among the usual suspects responsible for the literary relations between the synoptic gospels. In order to test the case I have selected a number of examples from the recent discussion of Goodacre's "Case against Q". They seem to be apt because they very clearly focus on the controversial relation between Matthew and Luke. For this procedure one restriction must be kept in mind: Mcn's text is not completely recoverable. The main witnesses, Tertullian and Epiphanius, provide allusions to Mcn rather than direct quotations, their accounts are not exhaustive and tend to be less careful towards the end, and sometimes they even contradict each other. But the general picture is clear enough: in a good number of cases they explicitly claim certain passages (of Luke) to be present or absent in Mcn, although for a few passages no judgment is possible.³³

1. I begin with the rather unspectacular *Matthean additions to the Triple Tradition not to be found in Luke*. On the assumption of Goodacre's MwQH, these texts call for an explanation, because if Luke is directly dependent on Matthew, it is hard to understand that he followed Mark but not Matthew, e.g. in Matt. 3:15 (John's objection to Jesus); Matt. 12:5-7 (Jesus' answer to the Pharisees); Matt. 13:14-17 (the full quotation Isa. 6:9-10); Matt. 14:28-31 (Peter walking on the water); Matt. 16:16-19 (Peter's confession and beatitude); Matt. 19:19b (love command in Jesus' answer to the rich young man); Matt. 27:19, 24 (dream of Pilate's wife, Pilate washing his hands).³⁴ These examples are instructive considering the complex and guarded argumentation of synoptic matters in particular. Goodacre states correctly that these additions pose a problem only for the 2DH but not for MwQH, since Luke did receive, in fact, an abundance of material from Matthew, e.g. the Mark-Q overlaps, the double tradition, and the minor agreements. Thus, when Luke followed Mark rather than Matthew in a few instances, this does not prove Luke's dependence on Matthew wrong.³⁵ The reply in support of 2DH is insofar weak as it must rely on internal reasons only: Kloppenborg argues that some of these

³³) For a first orientation, the list with Marcionite, Non-Marcionite, and unattested passages provided by Knox (*Marcion*, 86) is a helpful and reasonably accurate instrument.

³⁴) Kloppenborg, "On Dispensing," 219-222; Foster, "Is it Possible", 326-328.

³⁵) Goodacre, *Case*, 49-54.

additions would well fit into Luke's editorial concept, so it is not plausible why Luke should not have taken them over.³⁶

Methodologically, this dispute suffers from its negative preconditions. Whereas Goodacre states that these cases do not really harm the MwQH, Kloppenborg replies that it is not understandable that Luke did not include them in his gospel. It is, of course, the absence of "Q" that requires this *e silentio* argumentation on a rather hypothetical level, here indicated by double negations. The inclusion of Mcn, however, allows for a positive and convincing argument: Luke does not have the Matthean additions to Mark, because his main source was neither Mark nor Matthew, but Mcn. All but one of these examples are reported to be part of Mcn, which allows for a positive check:

(1) If Luke had read Matthew, an equivalent of Matt. 12:5-7 was to be expected between Luke 6:4 and 6:5. However, Tertullian (4.12) attests the whole pericope of the plucking of corn for Mcn and even alludes to parts of *6:4 (4.12.5) and *6:6-7 (4.12.9-10). Epiphanius, too, clearly read *6:3-4 in Mcn.³⁷ Luke's lack of an equivalent of Matt. 12:5-7 is, therefore, easily understandable if he followed Mcn, not Matthew. (2) Jesus' teaching about the function of parables is not reported for Mcn. But since the complete context of this teaching is warranted for in Mcn, it is a safe assumption that Mcn did contain it in its "Lukan" form (Luke 8:9-10).³⁸ (3) The Lukan parallel for the next example, Matt. 14:28-31, would be part of the passage that, in the terminology of the 2DH, is known as the "great omission", i.e. the text of Mark 6:45-8:26 which has no counterpart in Luke and would be expected to appear between Luke 9:17 and 9:18. As expected, Tertullian confirms that Mcn had both verses in immediate succession (Tert. 4.21.4, 6): In this case, Luke followed neither Mark nor Matt. but Mcn; therefore, he could not possibly have Matt. 14:28-31.³⁹ (4) The same phenomenon must be assumed for Peter's confession and beatitude (Matt. 16:16-19) which would have its place between Luke 9:20 and 9:21. Again, Tertullian read both verses successively (4.21.6). Although Peter's confession is attested differently by Tertullian (4.21.6: *tu es Christus*) and by Adamantius (*Dial.* 2.13: τὸν Χριστόν), these short forms are much closer to Luke 9:20 (τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) than to Matt. 16:16 (εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος). (5) The restrictive clause of fornication in Jesus' teaching about adultery and re-marriage (Matt. 19:9b: μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ) is absent not only in Luke (16:18) but also in Mcn: the whole chapter is attested by Tertullian who gives special attention to *16:16-18 (4.33.7, 9; 4.34.1). Tertullian states in particular that Marcion did not hand down "the other gospel and its truth"

³⁶ J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 41; idem, "On Dispensing with Q?," 219-222.

³⁷ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.11.6 (*schol.* 21).

³⁸ Tertullian quotes from Mcn *8:2-4, 8 (4.19.1-2) and *8:16-17, 18 (4.19.3-4, 5).

³⁹ Goodacre, *Case*, 50.

(4.34.2) because Tertullian needs the clause of fornication for his argument, but does not find it in Mcn: in spite of his own intentions, he must resort to Matthew in this case in order to refute Marcion.⁴⁰ (6) The pericope of the rich young ruler is one of the best attested texts in Mcn (*18:18-23): Jesus' explicit statement about "God the father" (*18:19) was so important for the catholic Christians' refuting Marcion from his own gospel that all major sources attest this text for Mcn. Specifically, Adamantius (*Dial.* 2.17) quotes Jesus' answer to the young ruler extensively: like Luke 18:20, Mcn contained only the selection of Decalogue commandments but not the additional love commandment as Matt. 19:19 has it. (7) Of Jesus' trial before Pilate only the beginning is attested by our witnesses,⁴¹ so there is no information about whether Mcn did contain any mention of Pilate's wife and her dream (Matt. 27:19) or of Pilate declaring Jesus innocent and washing his hands (Matt. 27:24).

The Matthean additions to the triple tradition do not create a problem if Luke followed Mcn instead of Matthew. Furthermore, there is no need to suggest "Q" as an explanation for these texts. It is only in the first example (Jesus' answer to the Baptist in Matt. 3:15) that Luke did not follow Mcn but Matthew: since Mcn began with *3:1a and continued with *4:31-37, 16-30, Luke could not find in it a report of Jesus' baptism at all.⁴² Instead, at this point, he followed Matthew, however with his own apparent editorial emphasis: it is not at all surprising that Luke did not take over the particular Matthean interpretation of Jesus' baptism as "fulfilling all righteousness".

2. This last example, Luke's lack of the addition in Matt. 3:15, leads to the next category, the "M"-material not present in Luke, i.e. the texts special to Matthew outside the triple tradition ("*Sondergut*"). That Luke does not have this "M" material is, of course, not a valid argument against his dependence on Matthew, as Goodacre correctly observes.⁴³ The argument is circular and formulated from the point of view of the 2DH: it is absent in Luke by definition. On the assumption of the MwQH, however, there remains a fair amount of material added by Matthew to the triple tradition, which Luke did not include. Although some arguments can be raised in order to demonstrate that Luke showed knowledge of the Matthean birth stories, the material outside the birth (and resurrection) stories still

⁴⁰ On this problem cf. Klinghardt, "Gesetz", 112-13.

⁴¹ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.11.6 (*schol.* 70, 71); Tert. 4.42.1, here with a change against Luke: According to Mcn, Pilate asks "*tu es Christus?*" instead of "*tu es rex Iudaeorum?*", as one would expect from Luke 23:3.

⁴² The beginning of Mcn is well attested, cf. Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas", 496-9.

⁴³ Goodacre, *Case*, 54-55.

calls for an explanation.⁴⁴ But, again, Goodacre's explanation why Luke did not take over this material, is as hypothetical as Kloppenborg's reply why Luke would have liked it, provided he had read Matthew.⁴⁵ Both argue *e silentio* from Luke's omissions and try to explain something which is not there.

For most of this material the answer might be much simpler: if Luke followed Mcn, he did not find any of the "M" material,⁴⁶ which is, therefore, exactly what it is called in the terminology of the 2DH: material *special to Matthew*. Since Luke did not "omit" it from his source, there is no need for a hypothetical explanation of his reasons for doing it this way: he simply followed the narrative frame of Mcn.

On the other hand, it is clear that Luke *did* use Matthew. This is in particular true for the birth stories where the close parallels between Matthew and Luke have long been registered.⁴⁷ Interestingly, they do not only relate to matters of contents such as the virginal conception, the place of birth, the names of Jesus' parents etc. and to literal agreements in the text.⁴⁸ It is also possible to determine the direction of the influence between both texts. The whole logic of the narrative of Jesus being born in Bethlehem makes sense only for Matthew: he knew from Mark 1:9, 24 etc. that Jesus came from Nazareth but nevertheless was interested in depicting him as a descendant of David and did so by locating his birth in "Bethlehem of Judea" (Matt. 2:1, 5-6) whose christological importance is underlined by the formula quotation. Since Jesus' Davidic lineage is much more important for Matthew than for Mark or Luke⁴⁹ it is understandable that he

⁴⁴ Kloppenborg, "On Dispensing with Q?," 222-223.

⁴⁵ Goodacre claims that "there is scarcely a pericope there that one could imagine Luke finding congenial to his interests" (*Case*, 59); Kloppenborg, on the other hand, hints to "Luke's dim view of the Herodian family" that would justify Luke's including Matt. 2:16-18, 22 or Luke's euergetism which makes him wonder why he omitted Matt. 20:1-16—and so on ("On Dispensing with Q?," 222).

⁴⁶ E.g.: Matt. 11:28-30; 13:24-50; 17:24-27; 18:23-35; 20:1-16; 21:28-32; 25:1-13; 25:31-46; 27:3-10, 62-66; 28:9-20.

⁴⁷ Goodacre, *Case*, 56-57; cf. also Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q", 79-80; Goulder, *Luke*, 205-264.

⁴⁸ Goodacre mentions Matt. 1:21 // Luke 1:31 (*Case*, 57). Kloppenborg wrongly downplays this argument ("On Dispensing," 223): Although it is true that the naming of Jesus is expected to be told in close connection to the report of his birth, the slight cracks in Luke's narrative (e.g. the singular καλέσεις in Luke 1:31, as opposed to 1:13, 59-66; 2:21) are a strong hint.

⁴⁹ Of the Matthean references for Jesus as Son of David, 1:1, 17, 20; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15 have no counterparts in Luke (or in Mcn); cf. K. Berger, "Die königlichen

wanted Jesus to be born in Bethlehem. Matthew solved the conflict with the Markan notice of Jesus' being from Nazareth by the whole narrative setting in ch. 2: Herod's persecuting the newborn "king of the Judeans" (2:2) is inseparably intertwined with the topic of Jesus' Davidic lineage and the flight to Egypt (again emphasized by a formula quotation, 2:15), as the implied irony makes clear: the illegitimate (non-Davidic) king chases away the legitimate "Son of David", thus adding to his legitimacy (2:15). The remark about Archelaus (2:22) forms a segue to Jesus' well-known origin from Nazareth. It is, therefore, evident that the Matthean "Bethlehem" is a necessary element in a well-crafted context. Although Luke took over Bethlehem as Jesus' birthplace, it does not play a leading role in his narrative logic. Luke is not interested in the thematic complex he found in Matthew but rather stresses the universal and historical circumstances for Jesus' birth (Luke 2:1-2) which displays the same editorial concept as the addition of the sixfold synchronism to *3:1a. As a result, the Matthean birth stories are not purely "M" material: since they indicate a Matthean influence on Luke, they rather prove to be sort of "double tradition."

3. It is the double tradition that really complicates Luke's assumed dependence on Matthew as proposed by the MwQH, because in some instances this material seems to have a more primitive form in Luke than in Matthew. Actually, the problem of *alternating primitivity in double tradition material* was originally one of the main reasons for the development of the 2DH: since a bi-directional influence from Matthew to Luke and from Luke to Matthew is impossible, the assumption of a common source used by both Matthew and Luke independently of each other seemed to be the best solution, because it provided the possibility that either of them stuck to the original wording in some places and changed it in others. Therefore, Goodacre and his critics gave special attention to this issue.⁵⁰ On the assumption of Mcn being prior to Luke the observation of alternating primitivity finds a completely different and rather simple solution. The following investigation concentrates on the major examples where Luke seems to have a more primitive text than Matthew:

Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments," *NTS* 20 (1973/74) 1-44; J. D. Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 (1976) 591-602.

⁵⁰ Goodacre, *Case*, 61-66, 133-151. Kloppenborg, "On Dispensing," 223-225.

(1) The prime example is the text of the first beatitude of the poor, for it seems improbable that Luke rendered the Matthean οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι (5:3) in οἱ πτωχοί (Luke 6:20b). However, Luke did not render Matthew's text at all but simply used Mcn, as Tertullian attests.⁵¹ (2) Similarly, the last Matthean beatitude mentions revilement, persecution, and the utterance of all kinds of evil "on my account" (5:11). This sounds like an unspecific generalization, if compared to the Lukan version which specifies: hatred, revilement, defamation, and exclusion which the addressees experience "on behalf of the Son of Man" (6:22). Again, an influence from the Lukan version to the Matthean is as unlikely as unnecessary: Tertullian attests the Lukan version for Mcn already.⁵² (3) The same is true for the Lord's prayer where the Matthean version (6:9-13) is longer than Luke's version with only five requests (11:2-4). Furthermore, the address also shows a particular Matthean addition (πάτερ ἡμῶν) ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Thus the judgment seems inevitable that Matthew enlarged and re-edited the Lukan version. But again, this version is already attested for Mcn, which then would have contained the presumably oldest text of the Lord's prayer.⁵³ In his discussion of the Lord's prayer, Tertullian does not provide exact quotations from his copy of Mcn but rather mere allusions to the text. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently clear that there is no trace of the second and seventh Matthean requests (on the fulfillment of God's will and on the deliverance from evil). As a side-effect, this reconstruction of the history of tradition provides the solution for the old *textual* problem of Luke 11:2, where Mcn's first request did not ask for the kingdom to come but for the spirit.⁵⁴ The invocation of the spirit, which is attested for the early church and in some medieval manuscripts, most probably represents the Lukan version, which later was corrected according to the Matthean version.⁵⁵ Since a textual influence from Mcn on some medieval manuscripts is only imaginable if it was mediated through bible manuscripts, this textual problem further corroborates the priority of Mcn. (4) According to Matt. 12:28 the expulsion of the demons is the work of the spirit, whereas Luke (11:20) ascribes it to the "finger of God". Fortunately, Tertullian provides enough text to prove that Mcn had the "finger of God" as well.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Tert. 4.14.1: *beati mendici quoniam illorum est regnum dei.*

⁵² Tert. 4.14.14: *beati eritis cum vos odio habebunt homines et exprobrabunt et eicient nomen vestrum velut nequam propter filium hominis.*

⁵³ Tert. 4.26.3-4. The catchwords in this passage would result in a text like this: *pater, <veniat?> spiritus sanctus. veniat regnum tuum. panem... cotidianum da [mihī]. dimitte [mihī] delictas <> ne sinas nos deduci in temptationem.*

⁵⁴ Cf. B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 130-131.

⁵⁵ The request ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον (ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθάρισον ἡμᾶς) is attested by the minuscule manuscripts 700 (11th cent.) and 162 (1153 C.E.); cf. also ActThom 27; Gregory of Nyssa, *De orat. dominica* 27.

⁵⁶ Tert. 4.26.11: *Quodsi ego in digito dei expello daemonia, ergone appropinquavit in vos regnum dei.*

With respect to the problem of alternating primitivity, the result is clear: in these instances, Luke does have a more primitive text than Matthew. This does, however, not corroborate the assumption of "Q" but the priority of Mcn, on which Luke is dependent. This means, on the other hand, that the differences between Luke and Matthew are due to Matthean additions to Mcn. Now the "alternating primitivity", or rather, the unsolvable problem of bi-directional influence from Luke to Matthew *and* from Matthew to Luke becomes apparent: whereas it is clear that Luke drew on Matthew, it is only in pretence that Matthew relied on Luke: instead, *Matthew used Mcn*. But since Mcn was completely contained in Luke and very similar to him, the impression of a bi-directional influence is not completely wrong.

4. This assumption has to stand the prime test, i.e. the problem of *Luke's presumed re-ordering of Matthean material*. The most prominent example for this phenomenon is the Sermon on the Mount: it is, indeed, hard to believe that Luke dissolved the order of the material of Matt. 5-7 and scattered it over more than a dozen different places within Luke 11-16. Although Goodacre's observation is correct that three chapters of un-interrupted speech is a nightmare for somebody who wants to tell a story, his solution that Luke broke up Matthew's narrative order for dramatic reasons is not convincing: he assumes that Luke, knowing Mark better and for a longer time than Matthew, used the Markan narrative as the backbone in which he inserted some of the material from the Sermon on the Mount.⁵⁷ This auxiliary argument undermines his main approach of Luke being dependent on Matthew. The dispersion of the Lukan parallels from Matt. 5-7 (except for Luke 6:20-49) makes this assumption highly improbable: Luke would have broken up the well-arranged Matthean structure without replacing it by an equally reasonable narrative structure. But again, including Mcn in the discussion changes the picture completely. Instead of a detailed verification I simply list the texts in question with their most important proof from the heresiological literature:

1. Matt. 5:13 // Luke 14:34-35 (parable of salt):—
2. Matt. 5:15 // Luke 11:33 (parable of light): Tert. 4.27.1.
3. Matt. 5:18 // Luke 16:17 (imperishability of the law): Tert. 4.33.9.

⁵⁷ M. Goodacre, "The Synoptic Jesus and the Celluloid Christ: Solving the Synoptic Problem through Film," *JSNT* 76 (1999) 33-52 (cf. Goodacre, *Case*, 105-20). For a critique of Goodacre's methodological approach cf. Downing, "Dissolving the Synoptic Problem," 117-119.

4. Matt. 5:25 // Luke 12:57-59 (on reconciling with your opponent): Tert. 4.29.15.
5. Matt. 5:32 // Luke 16:18 (on divorce and re-marriage): Tert. 4.34.1, 4.
6. Matt. 6:9-13 // Luke 11:2-4 (Lord's prayer): Tert. 4.26.3-5.
7. Matt. 6:19-21 // Luke 12:33-34 (on collecting treasures):—
8. Matt. 6:22-23 // Luke 11:34-36 (parable of the eye):—
9. Matt. 6:24 // Luke 16:13 (on serving two masters): Tert. 4.33.1-2; Adam., Dial. 1.26.
10. Matt. 6:25-34 // Luke 12:22-31 (on anxiety): Tert. 4.29.1-5.⁵⁸
11. Matt. 7:7-11 // Luke 11:9-13 (God's answering of prayer): Tert. 4.26.5-10; Epiph. 42.11.6 (schol. 24).
12. Matt. 7:13-14 // Luke 13:23-24 (the narrow gate):—
13. Matt. 7:22-23 // Luke 13:26-27 (warning against self-deception): Tert. 4.30.4.

Of these 13 pericopes, only four are unattested for Mcn (numbers 1, 7, 8, and 12); the majority of this material (38 verses) is positively attested for Mcn by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Since both of them checked through their copies of Mcn following the arrangement of the material, these instances appeared in Mcn clearly in their "Lukan" order and place. Only nine verses are not attested. This does not mean that Mcn did not contain these passages but only that the witnesses do not mention them. The overall picture confirms not only Luke's direct dependence on Mcn but also demonstrates that Matthew collected the material for the composition of the Sermon on the Mount from different places in Mcn.

5. The last set of examples is the *Minor agreements between Matthew and Luke within the triple tradition material*. Their case is in particular difficult, since there is no agreement between critics and defenders of the 2DH concerning the number of minor agreements, their exact definition, and significance. The leading question of this test, however, drastically restricts the relevant instances. This is in particular true for those really "minor" agreements on a level where they make little or no semantic difference so that it is hard to distinguish whether they really do indicate literary dependence on a source or rather represent typical editorial practice or individual style.⁵⁹ Testing these agreements in Mcn would require an exact reproduction

⁵⁸) Epiphanius marks *12:28a as omitted from Mcn (42.11.6 [schol. 31]) but specifically attests 12:30-31 (42.11.6 [schol. 32, 33]).

⁵⁹) E.g., replacing καί by δέ, ὅτι recitative (or lack thereof), correcting the historical presents and so on. For these rather stylistic changes, F. Neirynck's classification is very helpful (*The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark with a Cumulative List* [BETL 37; Leuven: Leuven University Press; 1974] 199-288).

of his text which the witnesses almost never provide. Due to the character of the sources whose accounts of Mcn are incomplete, the so-called negative agreements where Matthew and Luke both omit a Markan text do not provide reliable proof: in these instances it cannot be decided whether Mcn or his witnesses are responsible for the omission. On the other hand, the countercheck fits into the picture: none of the negative agreements (e.g., the omission of Mark 2:27 in Luke 9:5 // Matt. 12:7-8) is attested for Mcn.

The so-called positive agreements, however, i.e. additions to and/or alterations of the Markan text common for both Matthew and Luke, allow for a reliable verification. The prime example is, of course, the addition of the five words *τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖσας σε* to Mark 14:65 in Luke 22:64 and Matt. 26:68. This agreement plays a major role in the current debate as it did in earlier discussions, because it is really damaging to the concept of Matthew and Luke being independent on one another according to the 2DH.⁶⁰ The attempts of the defenders of the 2DH to explain this agreement are not at all convincing: one explanation considers difficulties in the manuscript tradition where these words could either have been lost in Mark or have later been added in Matthew from Luke or *vice versa* by way of assimilation.⁶¹ But why should the manuscript tradition be unreliable in just this particular case? If this argument was valid, the complete discussion of gospel relations, except for a few examples, would be illegitimate for the first two centuries. Another argument in defense of the 2DH is the suggestion that Luke did not only rely on Q but occasionally also on Matthew.⁶² But this would annul the basic assumption on which the whole theory rests: the principal independence of Matthew and Luke. But none of these constructions is necessary, since the words in question are well enough attested for Mcn.⁶³

⁶⁰ Cf. Goodacre, *Case*, 157-160. For this example cf. also: F. Neirynck, "ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΙΣΑΣ ΣΕ, Matt. 26:68 / Luke 22:64 (diff. Mark 14:65)," *ETL* 63 (1987) 5-47. Goulder, *Luke*, 6-11; M. Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNT.S 133; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 102-107 (with additional literature).

⁶¹ Cf. Foster, "Is it Possible", 325. B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1924) 326; Chr. M. Tuckett, "The Minor Agreements and Textual Criticism," in G. Strecker (ed.), *The Minor Agreements. Symposium Göttingen 1991* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) 119-141.

⁶² See above, n. 8.

⁶³ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.11.6 (*schol.* 68): οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιζον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες λέγοντες, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖσας σε.

This is the only one of the three examples used extensively by Goodacre⁶⁴ that allows for a check against Mcn. But there are other instances. In the Markan version of the pericope about the true relatives (Mark 3:31-5 par.), Jesus is being told that “his mother and his brothers *and his sisters* are seeking him outside.”⁶⁵ Luke (8:20) and Matthew (12:47) agree in leaving out the “sisters” (a negative agreement) and in adding that they were “*standing outside*” (ἔξω ἐστήκασιν). This is exactly what Tertullian read in Mcn.⁶⁶ Similarly, in the parable of the mustard seed, Luke and Matthew use a formulation different from Mark: Mark describes the action of sowing in the passive voice and does not name a subject. Both Matthew and Luke use the active voice, mention the subject and note that the man threw the seed on his own soil.⁶⁷ Tertullian, again, attests this very phrase for Mcn.⁶⁸ A last example is the annunciation of Jesus’ passion and resurrection (Mark 8:31 par.): Mark dates the resurrection “*after three days* (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας),” whereas Matthew (16:21) and Luke (9:22) both give the ordinal number “*on the third day* (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ),” as does Mcn.⁶⁹

In all these cases the minor agreements between Matthew and Luke can be traced back to Mcn: Mcn’s redaction of Mark was responsible for minor changes that show up in Matthew and Luke. This proves that both Matthew and Luke used Mcn, even if Matthew’s main source was Mark. But Mcn is not the only origin of the minor agreements, for there are further examples which do not as easily fit into this explanation. The scene of Jesus being captured displays a number of minor agreements between Luke 22:49-51 and Matt. 26:51-52 which require a different explanation, since Epiphanius explicitly marks these verses as absent in Mcn.⁷⁰ But because Epiphanius and Tertullian contradict each other in a few instances, this is

⁶⁴ Goodacre, *Case*, 154-160.

⁶⁵ Mark 3:32 (ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου ἔξω ζητοῦσίν σε). Mark reports the action (3:31) slightly different than this report.

⁶⁶ Tert. 4.19.7: *Nos contrario dicimus primo non potuisse illi annuntiari quod mater et fratres eius foris starent quaerentes videre eum...*

⁶⁷ Mark 3:31: ὃς ὅταν σπαρῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.—Matt. 13:31: ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ.—Luke 13:19: ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ (agreements in italics).

⁶⁸ Tert. 4.30.1: *simile est regnum dei, inquit, grano sinapis, quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo*. Since Tertullian attests the Lukan reading for the latter half of the verse, it is clear that it was Matthew who changed Mcn’s “garden” in “field”.

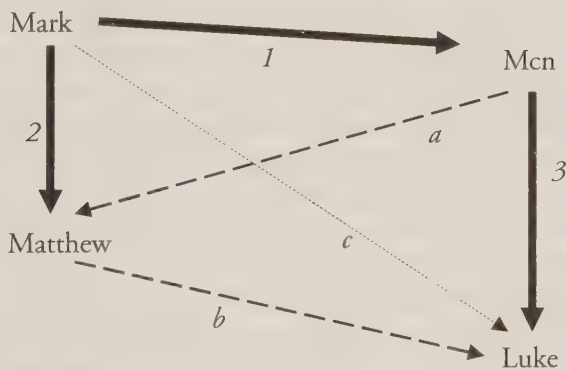
⁶⁹ Tert. 4.21.7: *et post tertium diem*.

⁷⁰ Epiphanius 42.11.6 (*schol.* 67).

not absolutely certain. in the story of the healing of the obsessed boy, however, the problem is unambiguous: in Jesus' reprimanding the disciples, Luke and Matthew agree in a small addition against Mark.⁷¹ In this case, both Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in their account of Marcion's text which does not contain the addition we find in Matthew and Luke: in this instance Mcn is clearly not responsible for the agreement.⁷² This means that there is not a single explanation for the minor agreements. In this case, the assumption of an influence from Matthew on Luke seems inevitable, which corroborates that there was, in fact, a bi-directional influence: from Mcn to Matthew and from Matthew to Luke.

IV. How the Picture Changes when Marcion is Included

The function of the examples I have mentioned so far is to test the reliability of the basic assumption of Mcn's priority to Luke and to see how the picture of the synoptic relations changes when Mcn is included as an element of the synoptic tradition. Before I hint at some conclusions, it is helpful to get a clearer picture of the processes within the synoptic tradition. If the interrelations are schematized in a diagram, the picture that comes up looks like this:



⁷¹ Matt. 17:17 and Luke 9:41 both add the words καὶ διεστραμμένη to the address in Mark 9:19 (ὁ γενεὰ ἄπιστος).

⁷² Tert. 4.23.1-2: *o genitura incredula, quosque ero apud vos, quousque sustinebo vos?*; Epiphanius, 42.11.6 (*schol.* 19): εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τό [...] 'πρὸς αὐτούς: ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν;'

1. The bold arrows (1, 2, 3) indicate the main influence within the synoptic tradition, "main influence" here meaning that the post-texts adopt not only the general narrative outline from their pre-texts but also display, at least partially, verbatim agreements. The bold arrow (2) states what is obvious: Matthew is basically a re-edition of Mark, although enriched with further material. The new element in the picture is the influence (3) from Mcn to Luke. On the assumption of Mcn's priority, there is no doubt that Luke followed Mcn very closely: as far as can be told, Luke did not interfere with Mcn's wording substantially. Mcn is, in other words, a sort of Proto-Luke.

2. Since I did not closely investigate the relation between Mark and Mcn, the direction of this relation (1) is, at this point of the discussion, a mere guess: Supposing that the influence runs from Mark to Mcn, the arrow (1) indicates that Mcn is an altered and enlarged re-edition of Mark: Mcn followed Mark's overall narrative order and even borrowed from his wording. In this process, Mcn made some editorial changes: he included some additional material, e.g., *6:20-49; *7:1-28, 36-50; *15:1-10; *16:1-17:4 and so on. About the origin of this material nothing can be said. But Mcn did not only make additions to Mark, but also left out some of the Markan materials. The most notable omissions are Mark 1:1-20, the material that is known as the "great omission" (Mark 6:45-8:26), or the end of the Markan Parable discourse (Mark 4:26-34). At least for the "great omission" it seems plausible that Mcn did not catch the artistic structure and its meaning of this Markan passage⁷³ and left it out for editorial reasons.

3. The dashed arrows (*a*, *b*) indicate an additional but minor influence of Mcn on Matthew and on Luke. In some respect, (*a*) and (*b*) most clearly show the advancement of this "Markan priority with Mcn" hypothesis: with respect to the far-reaching conformity between Mcn and Luke, the dashed arrows (*a*, *b*) indicate a bi-directional influence within the double tradition: there are elements running from Mcn to Matthew and others from Matthew to Luke's re-edition of Mcn.

4. Matthew is basically a re-edition of Mark (2) but also received additional material from Mcn (*a*) which is mostly congruent to Mcn's additions to Mark. Along this line, Matthew received the bulk of the double tradition material that is now embedded in Matt. 4-27.

⁷³ Cf. M. Klinghardt, "Boot und Brot: Zur Komposition von Mk 3,7-8,21," *BThZ* 19 (2002) 183-202.

The following is only a rough overview about the passages attested for both Mcn and Matthew (the references refer to the supposed text in Mcn): most of the material that is known as Luke's sermon in the field (Mcn *6:20-49); the healing of the centurion's boy (*7:1-10); John the Baptist's question (*7:18-23); on following Jesus (*9:57-62); commissioning of the apostles (*10:1-11); thanksgiving to the father and the beatitude of the disciples (*10:21-24); the Lord's prayer (*11:1-4) and the teaching about prayer (*11:9-13); parts of the exhortation to fearless confession (*12:2-5, 8-9); teaching on anxiety (*12:22-27, 29-32); interpreting the times (*12:54-55); reconciliation with one's accuser (*12:57-59); the parable of the heaven (*13:20-21); the parable of the great supper (*14:15-24); the parable of the lost sheep (*15:3-7); concerning the law and divorce (*16:16-18); on forgiveness (*17:3-4); the parable of the good and the wicked servants (*12:41-46).

Considering Matthew's redaction of these passages, it is clear that Matthew did not follow Mcn blindly, but carefully edited and re-arranged what he found in Mcn to be additions to Mark. This is particularly apparent from the story of the woman anointing Jesus, in which Matthew (26:6-13) did not follow Mcn's revised version (*7:36-50) but Mark (14:3-9). Furthermore, Matthew left out a substantial part of the material that is well attested for Mcn.⁷⁴ These "omissions" underline that Matthew followed Mark closely and inserted additional material occasionally only.

5. Interestingly, Matthew received the triple tradition material on two different routes, either directly from Mark (2) or on the detour via Mcn (1, *a*). So there is a *double influence* on Matthew within the triple tradition material. Of course, both Mcn and Matthew made changes on this triple tradition material which now show up in Matthew and Luke: these are the major and minor agreements. In some instances, as in the most famous example of the addition of the words τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παίσας σε (Matt. 26:68 // Luke 22:64 ≠ Mark 14:65), these changes can be attributed to Mcn. In other cases, the alterations of the triple tradition material within the double tradition seem not to have originated with Mcn but with Matthew. At least this is what the examples of Jesus' greeting Judas in Gethsemane (Matt. 26:51-52 // Luke 22:49-51 ≠ Mark 14:45-46) or of Jesus' reprimanding his disciples in the healing of the obsessed boy suggest (Matt. 17:17 // Luke 9:41 ≠ Mark).

⁷⁴ This list which, again, is not exhaustive contains the material attested for Mcn but not present in Matthew: the pericopae about the Samaritans (*9:52-56; 17:11-19); the parable of the importunate friend (*11:5-8); the blessing of Jesus' mother (*11:27-28); the signs of the time (*12:54-56), the parable of the lost coin (*15:8-10); the bulk of the material that is now in Luke 16: *16:1-12; 16:14-5; 16:19-29[30-31] and so on.

6. Similarly to the two-fold influence on Matthew (2 and 1, *a*), there is a two-fold influence on Luke: Luke received from Mcn, both directly (3) and by the interposition of Matthew (*a*, *b*). But Luke's editorial process appears to be different as compared to Matthew's. Whereas Matthew inserted the material from Mcn carefully and in many different places into the "Markan" narrative, Luke's additions from Matthew to his main source Mcn are quite different. The most severe influence along (*b*) relates to the beginning of the gospel: the complete material of Luke 1:1-2:52 and 3:1b-4:15 is absent in Mcn. Whereas the birth stories display some differences, Jesus' genealogy and the complete tradition about the Baptist, Jesus' baptism and temptation is clearly handed down to Luke from Matthew.⁷⁵ Besides this large addition in the beginning, there are only a few minor influences from Matthew on Luke along (*b*), e.g. Luke 11:49-51 (from Matt. 23:34-35) or Luke 12:6-7 (from Matt. 10:29-30).

7. Among the texts Luke received from Matthew is the pericope about the sign of Jonah (Luke 11:29-32 par.). This very interesting example belongs, in the terminology of the 2DH, to the "Mark-Q-overlaps" and provides a perfect insight into the route of the tradition: the origin is clearly Jesus' refusal to give "a sign to this generation" (Mark 8:11-12). Matthew, who followed Mark's lead, read it in the same context (Matt. 16:1-2a, 4), but in addition to Mark characterized this generation as "evil and adulterous" (16:4). Interestingly, he employs a verbatim parallel to 16:1-4 in 12:38-39. In both places, Matthew specifies that the only sign granted to this generation was "the sign of Jonah." In contrast to 16:4, however, he explains the metaphor "sign of Jonah" in 12:40b-41 by parallelizing Jonah's three days and nights in the belly of the monster with the Son of Man's three days and nights in the "heart of the earth" and adds the logion about the queen from the South standing up "against this generation" (12:42). Mcn, however, knew only the Markan version. Epiphanius gives a detailed account, stating that Marcion "cut out that about Jonah, the prophet. He had, however, 'This generation, it will not receive a sign.' He did not have (that) about Nineveh and about the queen from the South and about Solomon."⁷⁶ Luke, who generally follows Mcn very closely, is in this case clearly dependent on Matt. 12:40-42, as the references to the Ninevites, the Son of Man, and the queen from the South clearly show (Luke 11:30-31).

⁷⁵ On Luke's re-editing of the beginning of the gospel cf. Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas", 499-508.

⁷⁶ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.11.6 (*schol.* 25).

8. A direct Markan impact on Luke, here indicated by the dotted arrow (c), is not necessary for the argument: if (c) was only a postulate, it would not hold up against "Occam's razor". Not only is it hard to believe that Luke did not know Mark, it can be demonstrated: Luke received the parable of the wicked husbandmen (Luke 20:9-18) not from Marcion.⁷⁷ Instead, his version shows influence from Mark.⁷⁸

9. Just as Mark composed his gospel from traditions of which we do not know the origin, all the other three gospels used additional material besides the known (or: suggested) influence indicated by this diagram. Since there is no hint whether this material is derived from additional sources or represents influence from oral tradition or is simply the result of the evangelists' authorial fiction, I do not indicate this material. But it should be noted that in all cases the composition of gospel material was more than simply the editorial addition of sources. Concerning Matthew, this material is basically what is generally known as Matthew's special material ("M"). In Luke, this material is constituted by all the passages that are absent from Matthew and that are specifically reported as "omitted" for Mcn. Besides editorial changes on existing texts, the amount of independent pericopes added by the Lukan redaction is considerably small as compared to the Lukan special material "L", as it appears from the perspective of the 2DH. Epiphanius, who regards these Lukan additions as Marcionite omissions, observes the most important differences "at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end."⁷⁹ In "the beginning", Luke added the prologue, the infancy stories (most likely under Matthean influence) and the editorially important additions in 4:16-30.⁸⁰ In "the middle", Luke added, best to other texts, in particular the parable of the prodigal son (15:11-32).⁸¹ Marcion's gospel ended with *24:43, so the ascension and the disciples' return to Jerusalem are Lukan additions as well.⁸²

⁷⁷ Epiphanius documents omission for Mcn (42.11.6 [*schol.* 55]).

⁷⁸ Luke 20:12 is closer to Mark 12:5 than to Matt. 21:36; Matt. 21:40a is a Matthean addition to Mark which is not present in Luke.

⁷⁹ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.9.2; 11.3.

⁸⁰ For the difference between Mcn and Luke 1:1-2:52; 3:1b-4:15 cf. Tertullian 1.15.1; 1.19.2; 4.7.1; Epiphanius, *Panar.* 42.11.4-6; Adamantius, *Dial.* 2.3. These "omissions" are undisputed, cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 183*-6*; K. Tsutsui, "Das Evangelium Marcions: Ein neuer Versuch der Textrekonstruktion," *AJBI* 18 (1992) 77-78. In Luke 4:16-30, verses 17-22, 25-27 are Lukan additions (cf. Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas", 509).

⁸¹ Further Lukan additions are 13:1-9; 13:31-3; 22:16; 22:35-38; 23:29-43.

⁸² Cf. Klinghardt, "Gesetz", 95-101.

So far, the diagram and its additional explanations should provide the general idea of how the picture changes when Mcn is included in the solution of the synoptic problem. When I discussed this model with my students, they immediately responded that it was too complicated to be convincing (which was somewhat discouraging at the moment). But how complicated is too complicated? In order to assess the question of complexity, I return to the recent debate for three consequences.

First, the general picture confirms the critical arguments brought forward from both sides against their respective counterparts. On the one hand, "Q" is, indeed, "dispensable." The inclusion of Mcn avoids the methodological weakness of the 2DH with regard to the minor agreements and the hypothetical character of "Q": Compared to "Q", Mcn is clearly less "hypothetical", even though its text must be critically reconstructed from the sources and even though its place within the maze of the synoptic problem requires careful assessment. On the other hand, the basic observations that led to the hypothesis of "Q" in the first place, i.e. the bi-directional influence within the double tradition, are equally confirmed. The postulate of a single dependence of Luke on Matthew (or of Matthew on Luke) oversimplifies the complexities of the inter-synoptic relations. But it is neither possible nor necessary to establish such a single dependence. Instead, the inclusion of the "proto-Lukan" gospel which was used by Marcion easily explains the ambiguity of the material.⁸³ Particularly with respect to the 2DH the burden of proof has shifted to those who suggest the existence of "Q" in order to explain the synoptic relations.

Second: What seems to make this picture complicated at first glance, indicates a major shift in methodology when compared to 19th century source-criticism. Although the 2DH tried to overcome the blockades of single dependencies, it is still basically oriented towards the simple usage of sources: it only augmented the number of relevant sources. Although the inclusion of Mcn is a similar augmentation of "sources", the evolving picture is different: whereas the 2DH tried to explain the complexity of the data by the addition of two basic sources (Mark + Q), the inclusion of Mcn demonstrates that both Matthew and Luke received their triple tradition material via two different routes: Matthew read Mark directly *and* in its revised edition in Mcn, and Luke used Mcn both directly *and* in

⁸³) A similar attempt had been made by H.P. West, "A Primitive Version of Luke in the Composition of Matthew," *NTS* 14 (1967/68) 75-95.

Matthew's revised and enlarged edition. Since Luke, as it was demonstrated, also did know and use Mark, Mark was present in all stages of the synoptic tradition. The editorial procedure of both, Matthew and Luke, was not a mere addition of "sources" but a comparison of texts and concepts. This is fully consonant with the insight of the redaction history that the evangelists were ambitious and competent authors rather than mere editors. The mutual inter-dependencies create the complex maze of the synoptic tradition which, as a result, must be regarded as a much denser process than the 2DH suggested.

Finally, it is clear that this paper only intends to open the window for further discussion: I am fully aware that I am far from seeing all the implications and consequences of this suggestion, neither within the realm of the traditional issues of the synoptic problem nor the historical consequences that lie beyond it. But since this model provides a solution of the contentious issues of the present debate, it may help to break the deadlock in which the discussion of the synoptic problem seems to be caught for too long now.

Sinai Ar. N.F. Parchment 8 and 28: Its Contribution to Textual Criticism of the Gospel of Luke

Hikmat Kachouh
Birmingham

Abstract

This article examines the text of an Arabic Gospel manuscript from the "New Finds" at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai. It provides a general description of the codex, and then studies two hundred and thirty readings in Saint Luke's Gospel. These readings differ from the Majority Text and agree with some of the earliest Greek witnesses as well as ancient versions. The contribution of this manuscript is shown to be considerable, and a warning against minimizing the textual value of the Arabic versions.

Keywords

textual criticism, Arabic Gospel manuscripts, Arabic versions

1. Introduction

My interest in this manuscript was stirred up when I came across an early variant from the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31). It follows P⁷⁵ in giving a name to the rich man. It reads: اسمه نينويس (ὄνόματι Νινευῆς).¹ This was the key variant which triggered my enthusiasm to study its variant readings in the Gospel of Luke. Some of the findings are included in this article.²

It is generally believed that the *Vorlagen* of the Arabic Gospel Manuscripts are Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin. An examination of over two hundred

¹ P⁷⁵ reads ονοματι Νευης, a scribal error for Νινευης (see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 140.

² I am very grateful to Prof. D.C. Parker for going through the draft of this article and for his incisive comments.

manuscripts shows that Greek and Syriac were the chief source.³ The majority of these manuscripts originated in and around Palestine and Syria. It is still not clear when the Gospels were first translated into Arabic. Some would argue for a pre-Islamic date (pre-seventh century, as early as the fourth/fifth century) and others during the Abbasid period (post-750 A.D). This debate will not be discussed here. It is worth noting, however, that the common ground between both schools is that during the ninth century the Gospels in Arabic had been extensively copied and used, and that the majority of the ninth century manuscripts are copies of earlier manuscripts.

Some have believed that the Arabic manuscripts of the New Testament, with the exception of the Arabic Diatessaron, have little to offer to textual criticism.⁴ This paper aims to show that this perception can no longer be maintained: the Arabic Gospel manuscripts have much to contribute to the history of the transmission of the text, as well as to enhancing our knowledge of the biblical tradition.

The article will focus on the *textual* features of the Gospel of Luke. I shall begin with a concise description of the codex, and then introduce the critical apparatus followed by discussion of the *Vorlage* of the Arabic text. A general conclusion will follow the Apparatus. This article is intended as an introduction to a full edition of this manuscript, to be presented in a separate volume.

2. A Description of Sinai Ar. N.F. Parch. 8 and 28

The only reference to Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 8 and 28 is found in Meimaris's Greek-Arabic catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, published in 1985.⁵ This is a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the newly-discovered

³ See H. Kachouh, "The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: A Case Study of John 1.1 and 1.18," *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Brill: Leiden, 2006) 9-36.

⁴ See for instance, "Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad Antiquo Testes Recensuit Apparatum Criticum," *Edinburgh Review*, 94. 191 (July 1851) 29; William Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1893) s.v. Arabic Versions; Sumuel Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism: Exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science* (Edinburgh: A and C. Black, 1952).

⁵ Yiannis Meimaris, *Katālūg al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'arabiyyah al-muktashafah ḥadīthan bi-Dayr Sānt Kātrīn al-muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Sinā'* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1985).

Sinai Collection. The information given in the catalogue is minimal and a new description should be given before any attempt is made to study the two manuscripts textually.⁶

MSS Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 8 and 28 were originally one codex, and Meimaris seems not to have detected this. Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 8 ends with John 17:25a and Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 28 starts with John 17:25b, so that the text is continuous. Moreover, linguistically, as well as on codicological and palaeographic ground, there is no doubt that these two manuscripts were originally one codex.⁷ Therefore they will be referred to as "Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus" (CSA).⁸

CSA is a palimpsested parchment codex, originally with 144 folios in 18 quires of which 143 folios survived (the first folio is missing). Each gathering is made of eight leaves. It is undoubtedly one of the earliest surviving Arabic Gospel manuscripts. It was possibly copied in the second half of the eighth century or early ninth century. Layers of Greek, Latin, and Arabic were detected in some of its folios, and this makes this codex unique. Some of the Greek and Latin palimpsested texts might go back to the fourth and fifth century.

The make-up of CSA is also unique; many of the folios of this codex are made up from small pieces of parchment (some with four or five pieces for each folio) and sewing these pieces into a folio would have required hard work and perseverance. The size of folio varies throughout the manuscript. It ranges between 170-190 cm long and 124-138 cm wide. The written surface ranges between 155-175 cm and 115-120 cm, with 24 to 29 lines per page. All that has survived of the binding is a detached and worn-out spine. The parchment is extremely thin and fragile, especially when it is compared with ninth century Arabic Gospel parchment codices. Generally speaking, the leaves are in good enough condition to enable us to read the Arabic script and some of the palimpsested texts. Some of the folios, especially at the beginning and the end of the codex are worn out on the

⁶ I wish to express my thanks to Archbishop Damianos, the holy council of St. Catherine's Monastery, and to Father Justin, the librarian, for allowing me the privilege and pleasure of studying these manuscripts during my visit to the Monastery.

⁷ Upon my visit to St. Catherine Monastery, I was also able to ascertain that Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 14 and 16 originally belonged to one codex. This is also true for MSS Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 5, 6, 63 (in the following order: 6, 5, 63).

⁸ Not to be confused with Codex Arabicus (Sinai Arabic 514). See A.S. Atiya, "Codex Arabicus", *Homage to a Bookman: Essay on Manuscripts, Books and Printing. Written for Hans P. Krus on his 60th Birthday Oct. 12, 1967* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967) 75-85.

external edges. In a few places the original writing (mainly Greek) was not scraped and washed off and so can be read easily.

The Content of CSA

CSA contains the following: (1) Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 8:

1. An apology—the first folio of which is missing (folios 1r-7r)
2. Matthew (folios 7r-44r)
3. Mark (folios 44r-65r)
4. Luke (folios 65r-102v)
5. John 1:1-17:25a (folios 103r-127v)

(2) Sinai ar. N.F. parch. 28 continues with the following:

6. John 17:25b-21:25 (folios 1r-7r)
7. A sermon *في ميلاد سيدنا يسوع المسيح* (*In natalem Christi diem*) by Saint John Chrysostom (folios 7r-14r)⁹
8. A canon of the Apostles: *هذا من قوانين السليحين* (folios 14r-14v)
9. A sermon for the monks: *مو عظه للرهبان* (folios 14v-16v)

Palaeographic Features of CSA

The script is known as *Kūfic*. It is copied using thick black ink. The text seems to have been copied by one scribe. When a palaeographic comparison is made between this manuscript and other extant Arabic Gospel manuscripts (of which over 200 have already been examined), it becomes obvious that CSA has the least diacritical marks of them all.

The *alif* (ا) has no turning of the hand to the right (the turning of the hand to the right is common for manuscripts of Makkah and al-Madinah), but lengthening of the strokes to below the line.

The *Dāl*, *Dhāl* and *Kāf* have an upward stroke bend to the right of the top of the letter.

The letters *Ṣād* and *Ḍād*, as well as the *Kāf*, are elongated horizontally.

The ending *Fā'*, *Tā'* and *Bā'* do not have an upward stroke at the end of the horizontal stroke.

The *Nūn* looks similar to the modern *Rā'* without a final upward stroke.

⁹ See M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Brepols: Turnhout, 1974) 558-559.

The tail of the final *Ḳāf* resembles the *Rāʾ* in being elongated at the beginning of the tail, vertically instead of horizontally.

The base stroke of the initial *ʿayn* is elongated backward to the right.

The tail of the final *Lām* is similar to the modern *Rāʾ* with a small curve turning to the left.

Occasionally the tail of the final *Yāʾ* extends horizontally to the right and goes under the word.

There is little, if any, space between the words and, as a result, words can be divided across lines. A pause in sense is sometimes indicated by two forward slashes (/ /).

All these palaeographic features indicate the archaic nature of this manuscript. Moreover, the defective writing of the *Alif* (for instance *Baraka* instead of *Bāraka*; *Kidas* instead of *kidās*) is a seventh and eighth century feature and adds weight to the early dating of this manuscript.¹⁰

The Rubrics of CSA

Rubrics are present at the beginning of each Gospel (as well as of Chrysostom's homily, the canon of the Apostles, and the sermon for the monks). Moreover, there is one rubric in Matt 1:18 which reads قرايه ثانياه تقرا في القدس عشيه الميلاد (a second reading to be read in the mass on Christmas night). This is the only liturgical calendar division in the manuscript. The last rubric is found on folio 10r. It has been struck out by the copyist. It might have come from a different source and have not been erased properly. It reads [.....] نبدا بعون المسيح ربنا نكتب كلام [ملقط؟] من الانجيل المقدس فانت يا رب كون لي ابتدا وتمام ومعين على عمل طاعتك وفعال طاعتك, بتدا . مسرتك باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس . Only the letter ت in ابتدا and طاعتك, بتدا has the two dots, as well as the letter ب in ابتدا. All the rest are left without diacritical marks. The dating of this rubric does not seem to be much earlier than the Arabic text; it might even have been written by the same hand.

3. The Apparatus

The aim of the apparatus is not just the variant in question. I have provided on many occasions the textual context of the variant to help the reader to better evaluate the variant and the Arabic translation. In the apparatus

¹⁰ See François Déroche, "Manuscripts of the Qurʾān," *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 257.

below the Byzantine reading¹¹ is presented first, then a square bracket followed by the Greek reconstructed variant based on the Arabic text, then the Arabic reading between brackets, and finally the Greek manuscripts and the early versions which support the reading in question. The main source of Greek and early version witnesses come from *The Gospel according to St Luke*¹² as well as the Nestle-Aland 27th edition. The manuscript sigla and signs are taken from the IGNTP, an explanation of which is not given here since those who find this paper useful should be familiar with them. It is worth mentioning, however, that the Greek Codex Sinaiticus in IGNTP has the sigla S instead of κ. The patristic quotations are only mentioned when none of the extant Greek manuscripts and early versions supports an Arabic variant in question. This seems to be the case with only one variant (see variant 21 below).

4. The Variants

The variants selected are far from being exhaustive. The intention was to select variants which disagree with the Byzantine text-type and which are less likely to have coincidentally converged with Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic etc. readings. This is a difficult task and requires a careful examination of each variant, as well as a wider knowledge of the translation techniques which were used for making Arabic versions. When a variant is ambiguous or doubtful (on whether or not it is a *textual* variant), the preference in general was to include the variant rather than exclude it. And by doing so the reader is provided with an opportunity to make his own judgment.

Arabic as a Semitic language shares many of these techniques with the Syriac language, so that our knowledge of the translation techniques used in the Syriac versions can help us better understand Arabic translation techniques.¹³

¹¹ As it is found in Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (eds.), *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform, 2005* (Southborough: Chilton Book, 2005).

¹² *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, 2 vols., edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984-1987) (hereafter IGNTP).

¹³ On the Syriac translation technique see, P.J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels* (Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004).

This article does not allow the opportunity to expand on the techniques used in Arabic translations. It is worth noting however, that the general attempt of the scribes was to translate *literally* from the *Vorlage*. Occasionally, the reader is left bewildered by sentences awkward syntactically.¹⁴ Yet divergence from the *Vorlage* happens. This divergence is also present in other languages (e.g. Latin, Syriac etc.), so that Arabic is not exceptional. It could have happened during the translation (because of internal syntactical demands), or the copying process.

The list below gives guidelines to help us put little emphasis on variants which seem to be merely of translation convenience and not necessarily a reflection of a textual variant. These include:

1. Inclusion or omission of a definite article
2. Inclusion of possessive pronouns (e.g. تلاميذه instead of التلاميذ), especially inherent possession (e.g. يده ; رجله)
3. Word order, especially reversal of paired items and subject-verb transposition
4. Inclusion, omission and variation in the use of conjunctions (esp. και and δε)
5. Inclusion of the name يسوع ('Ιησοῦς)
6. Replacing a pronoun in the *Vorlage* with a proper noun in the translation
7. Addition of الرب (Κύριος) to the proper noun يسوع ('Ιησοῦς)
8. The addition of objective pronouns, especially the following construction: preposition + attached pronoun added to the verb قال (λέγω)
9. Variations in the number of the noun (esp. السماء/السموات)

5. The *Vorlage* of the Manuscript

Coptic or Syriac is less likely to be the *Vorlage* of this manuscript. Many of the textual and linguistic variants contained in these versions are not reflected in the text of CSA. The two possible *Vorlagen* of this Arabic version are Greek or an Old Latin version. Three hypotheses present themselves: First, the version is translated from an Old Latin text and

¹⁴ See for instance, in Luke 22:33 هوذا انا مستعد معك الى الحبس والى الموت انطلق where the verb is placed at the end of the sentence!

thus becomes automatically less important for Greek textual scholars. The second hypothesis is that the manuscript is translated from an Old Greek *Vorlage*, which the latter shares traditionally with the *Vorlage* of the Old Latin versions, and if so makes it of great value for both Greek and Latin textual scholars. The third hypothesis is that this text has been translated from Greek and then corrected at some point later against an Old Latin text.

None of the hypotheses suggested above should be rejected in total. The first hypothesis, a Latin origin, seems to be least likely, though not impossible. The following argument aims to show the improbability of a Latin origin. This will be done by giving a few linguistic examples and then presenting textual evidence in favour of a Greek *Vorlage*.

5.1. Linguistically

The pool of linguistic variety found in the old Latin texts, and which reflects not only textual Greek variants but also different linguistic renderings of a specific Greek word, makes the argument of a *Vorlage* based solely on linguistic features almost impossible. The first example below reflects some of this reality.

- a. In Luke 1: 3a the Greek reads ἔδοξε καὶ μοί. Friberg points out that here the verb is “used with the dative of person and an infinitive to express one’s will or pleasure *it seems best or good, decide* (LU 1.3).¹⁵ The Arabic scribe seems to be familiar with this construction and translated ἔδοξε καὶ μοί with سررت انا ايضا (I was also pleased). The Vulgate as well as the Old Latin witnesses (except Lvt b f l q) read *visum* (perfect tense of *video*) and has the meaning of “to see, view, behold, survey etc” and also “to please, like”.¹⁶ The Old Latin MSS b f l q read here *placuit* from *placeo* and means “to pleased or satisfied with one’s self”.¹⁷ The Arabic reading follows either the Greek or MSS b f l q.
- b. Luke 1:3b the Arabic text reads ان الحفهم من فوق (*lit.* to follow them *from above*). This ambiguous reading renders literally the

¹⁵ Timothy Friberg, Barbara Friberg and Neva F. Miller, *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000) s.v. δοκέω.

¹⁶ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880) s.v. *video*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. *placeo*.

Greek ἄνωθεν (adv. "from above"—Latin *de-super*). This rendering is not found in the extended Latin tradition. The majority of Latin manuscripts read *a principio* (at the beginning) and MS c reads *ab initio* (from the beginning). This reading seems to follow the Greek and not Latin.

- c. Luke 1:3c The Arabic text translates Θεόφιλε with حبيب الله (Θεόφιλε—the lover of God). This translation is hardly justified if the scribe is translating from any language other than Greek. The Latin as well as the Syriac transliterate this noun since it is considered a proper noun. Latin has *Theophile/Theofile/Theopile* and the Syriac ܬܝܫܝܬܐ. This might show that the scribe was translating from Greek and not Latin. However, it could also be possible that the scribe translating from Latin was familiar with the Greek language and decided to give the full Greek meaning of Θεόφιλε in Arabic.
- d. Luke 10:25a the Arabic reads عند ذلك قام نوميق ليجريه. The noun نوميق (*noumik*) is a transliteration of the Greek νομικός and is found in Greek only. The Latin has *Legis peritus*. It is most probable that the scribe is translating from Greek. Otherwise we would expect متخصص في الشريعة or معلم الشريعة.
- e. Luke 11:45-6: Here once again the noun نوميق is found and is repeated twice in plural. In Luke 11:45 we read اجاب واحد من النوميقيين (*al-Noumikiin*) and in Luke 11:46 فقال ولكم ايه النوميقيين (*al-Noumikiin*). In both locations the Greek reads τῶν νομικῶν and τοῖς νομικοῖς respectively. The Latin, however, has *Legis peritis*.
- f. Luke 12:6 The Greek reads ἐξωμολόγησεν from ἐξωμολογέω and means "agree, consent," and also "praise, thank". The Latin has *spondo/spondo* from *spondeo* and means "to promise solemnly, to bind, engage, to enter into an agreement" or "to warrant, give assurance of".¹⁸ The Arabic reads ويشكروه (and thank him) and renders the Greek and not Latin *Vorlage*.
- g. In Luke 21:30a the Arabic MS translates προβάλλωσιν with تخرج الورق (sprout leaves). The Latin however, prefers *fructus* instead of *folia* and translates with minor variations as *producunt iam ex se fructum*. If the Arabic scribe is translating from Latin we expect him to use ثمره/ثمر (fruit(s)) instead of ورق (leaves). This certainly supports the hypothesis of a Greek *Vorlage*. However, there is only

¹⁸ Ibid., s.v. *spondeo*.

one Old Latin MS which reads *folia* instead of *fructum* is MS r¹. The fact that MS r¹ read *folia* makes the probability of a Greek *Vorlage* less certain. The following variant of the same verse might push the argument a little bit further.

- h. In Luke 21:30b the Arabic text reads فاعلموا ان الحصاد قريب. The expression الحصاد (harvest) has no textual support. The Greek has θέρος (summer) and the Latin *aestas* (summer). The expression الحصاد in Greek is (θερισμός) and has the same root as summer (θέρος). Moreover, the first and last letters are similar, and replacing one word with another word (with similar initials and endings) is common in the transcription of manuscripts.¹⁹ The Latin however, reads *aestas* (summer). “Harvest” in Latin is *messis*. The two words do not share a common root (as is the case with Greek) and are far from being similar. A mistake of this kind is unlikely if the scribe was translating from Latin. It is more likely that the Greek is the *Vorlage* of this verse.
- i. Luke 22:17 and 22:19: In verse 17 Jesus “took the cup” and in verse 19 “took the bread”. The Greek has two different verbs for “take”. In verse 17 and 19 the verbs δέχομαι and λαμβάνω are used respectively. This distinction is faithfully preserved in the Arabic text as opposed to the Latin witnesses. The Arabic has in verse 17 قبل كاس (δέχομαι) (a very unusual usage with the noun كاس) and in verse 19 اخذ (λαμβάνω). This distinction shows that Greek and not Latin is the *Vorlage* of this reading. The majority of Old Latin MSS, as well as the Vulgate, have in both places *accepto*. MS d has in both places *accipiens*, MS c has in verse 17 *accepit* and in verse 19 *accepto*, and finally MS e has *accepit* in verse 17 and omits the reading in verse 19.

The few examples mentioned above favour a Greek as opposed to a Latin *Vorlage*. However, these examples do not eliminate the possibility that the Arabic text once translated from Greek, has been subject to emendation made against the Latin. This can hardly be proven and requires a more thorough textual and linguistic examination of the text, and in general the result is far from satisfactory. The following discussion is an attempt to show that *textually*, and not only linguistically, it is unlikely that this manuscript has been translated from Latin.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975) 42-43.

5.2. Textually

The *textual* argumentation, on whether or not the Arabic text is translated from Latin, all depends to what extent the extant Latin texts reflect the holistic Latin tradition. If the extant Latin texts reflect very little of the variants found in this tradition, a textual comparison of the Arabic and Latin texts become less important and any hypothesis less conclusive. Since the presupposition is that the extant Latin texts reflect part and not the whole Latin tradition, no conclusive decision will be taken here.

The critical apparatus below shows that about seventy variants, out of two hundred and thirty, have no textual support in the extant Latin texts. Seven readings seem to follow only the Latin texts.²⁰

In addition, since the apparatus below overlooks variants which *agree* with Byzantine text, another exercise is worth undertaking: finding variants which *agree* with the Byzantine text-type but *disagree* with Old Latin witnesses. For instance, in Luke 23:25 the Arabic reads السجس والقتل (στάσιν καὶ φόνον) and agrees with the Byzantine text-type. However, the extant Latin manuscripts transpose and read *homicidium et seditionem*. Here the Arabic disagrees with the Latin and is not referred to in the apparatus below—simply because the Arabic agrees with the Byzantine text-type (against the Latin). Another example could be Luke 9:1 The Arabic reads فدعا يسوع الاثنا عشر (Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα) and agrees with the Byzantine text (as well as P⁷⁵ A B D etc.) against the Latin extant texts (except MS d).

In summary, although the apparatus below shows a close agreement with Old Latin MSS, about 30% of the readings disagree completely with the extant Latin MSS. Moreover, further investigation might show some textual disagreement might be present between some Arabic readings (supported by the Byzantine text-type, or Byzantine and Alexandrian text-types against the Western text-types—and thus not mentioned in the Apparatus below) and Old Latin witnesses.

If the first hypothesis is less likely to be the case, then the inclination is to support the second or third hypothesis, which suggests an Arabic text translated from Greek with or without being corrected against an Old Latin text. The common factor between the last two hypotheses is that Greek

²⁰⁾ However, other variants in some of the same verses, where these seven readings are found, show disagreement with the Latin tradition. Moreover, there is no single Latin manuscript which shows a consistent agreement with the Arabic text.

is the original *Vorlage* of this version. Anything beyond that is mere speculation. It is almost impossible to know with some certainty whether this manuscript has been corrected against the Latin or not. Take, for instance, Luke 1:28. The Angel said to Mary **سَلامَ لَكَ يَا مَتلَهُ النِّعمَةُ الرَّبِّ مَعَكَ**. This is one of the most confusing verses in this manuscript. If the scribe is translating from Greek we would expect **النِّعمَةُ عَلَيْهَا** (passive participle; Greek κεχαριτωμένη) instead of **يَا مَتلَهُ النِّعمَةُ** (full of grace), a reading found in no Greek witnesses but rather in the Latin tradition; *gratia plena* (and also the Peshitta ܐܬܚܬܝܬܐ ܕܠܗܐ; the Old Syriac is defective here). And if the scribe is translating from Latin (or Syriac) we expect **يَا مَتلَهُ النِّعمَةُ** but also *benedicta tu in mulieribus* (εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν). The last addition is omitted in the Arabic manuscript and disagrees with the Latin tradition (as well as the Syriac Peshitta). The omission is only attested by S B L W Ψ 1 131 565 579 700 1215 1241 1582 Sj (4 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I). If this manuscript is translated from or corrected against the Latin we expect this important addition, “blessed art thou among women”, to be present. And if this manuscript is translated from Greek we expect **النِّعمَةُ عَلَيْهَا** (κεχαριτωμένη) instead of **مَتلَهُ النِّعمَةُ** (*gratia plena*), unless the scribe was influenced by external textual or liturgical factors. To suggest that this manuscript is only translated from Greek, we find ourselves trapped with some variants hard to justify, and to say that this manuscript is corrected against a Latin witness, would not solve the problem that there are many important variants found in the Latin tradition omitted in this manuscript.

I shall turn now to the apparatus of the textual variants of the Gospel of Luke.

6. A Selection of Textual Variants in the Gospel of Luke

1. Luke 1:9 **τον ναον του κυριου]** **τον ναον του θεου** (هَيْكَلُ اللَّهِ) *with* C* D Ψ 0211 179 517 579 726 827 954 1071 1194 1338 1424 1542b 1604 1675 2542 2643 l1642 l1761 Sj (4 mss.) Dtp
2. Luke 1:13 **Ελισαβετ γεννησει υιον σου]** omit **سَوِي تِلْدُ الْاَشْبَعِ** (ابن) *with* D Δ 1 579 Dta (1 ms.)
3. Luke 1:27 **ανδρι ω ονομα Ιωσηφ εξ οικου Δαυιδ]** **ανδρι ω ονομα Ιωσηφ εξ οικου και πατριας Δαυιδ** (لِرَجُلٍ اسْمُهُ يَوْسُفُ مِنْ بَيْتِ وَقَبِيلِهِ دَاوُدَ) *with* S C L 0130 1 16 22 27^c 28 71 131 158 349 443 517 577 700 954 1005 1192 1194 1195 1210 1242 1342 1365 1392 1424 1458 1582 1604 1630 1675 2372 2613 2757 l32 Gg (II. III) OS (1 ms.)
4. Luke 1:28 **ευλογημενη συ εν γυναιξιν]** omit *with* S B L W Ψ 1 131 565 579 700 1215 1241 1582 Sj (4 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I)

5. Luke 1:50 εἰς γενεας γενεων] εἰς γενεαν και γενεαν (الى جيل وجيل) *with* S F M Ψ 028 1 5 6 13 27 28 60 69 71 118 124 131 157 179 205 209 213 343 346 348 399 472 477 (+41 MSS) l253 l547 l1016 Lvt (aur f ff² g¹ l q r¹)
6. Luke 1:60 ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται Ἰωαννης] ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται το ονομα αυτου Ἰωαννης (لكن يدعا اسمه يوحنا) *with* C* D 213 l211 Lvt (d) Sj (3 mss.) Cb (4 mss.) OS
7. Luke 2:5 συν Μαριαμ τη μεμνηστευμενη αυτω γυναικι omit γυναικι (مع مريم هذه الخطوبه له) *with* S B C*^{vid} D L W Ξ 0177 1 22 131 565 700 1005 1192 1365 1582* 2372 Lvt (e β d f r¹) Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (Bodl. 40, 41)
8. Luke 2:15 και οι ανθρωποι οι ποιμενες ειπον προς αλληλους] οι ποιμενες ελαλουν προς αλληλους: (قالوا الرعاه بعضهم لبعض) *with* S B L W Θ Ξ 1 22 372 565 700 1071 1192* 1210 1582* l253 Lvt (e a aur b β c f ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (Bodl. 41)
9. Luke 2:40 και εκραταιουτο πνευματι omit πνευματι (ويتقوا) *with* S B D L N W Lvt (e a b β c d ff² g¹ gat l r¹) (Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (1) OS (1 ms.)
10. Luke 2:43 και ουκ εγνω Ἰωσηφ και η μητηρ αυτου] και ουκ εγνωσαν οι γονεις αυτου (ولم يعلموا ابوه) *with* S B D L W Θ 1 22 33 118 131 157 205 209 372 472 579 700 788 1005 1009 1210 1220 1241 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (e a aur β d gat) Lvg Ss Sj Sh (268.W) mg Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg(l) OS
11. Luke 2:51 και κατεβη μετ αυτων και ηλθεν omit και ηλθεν (فنزل معهم) *with* C* D 28 Lvt (d) Cs Cb Et
12. Luke 2:52 σοφια και ηλικια και χαριτι] ηλικια και σοφια και χαριτι (القامه والحكمه والنعمه) *with* D L 579 1012 2096 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff² l q r¹) Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Cb
13. Luke 3:23 ετων τριακοντα αρχομενος omit αρχομενος (ثلاثين سنه) *with* 124 1351 Lvt (e f) Ss Sp Dta Dtp Cs Et
14. Luke 3:33 του Αμιναδαβ του Αραμ] του Αμιναδαβ του Αραμ του Αδμ του Αρνι (بن اميناداب بن ارام بن ارمي) *with* Θ 1604 Ar Gg (l) Sj (2 mss.)
15. Luke 4:3 ειπε τω λιθω τουτω ινα γενηται αρτος] ειπε ινα οι λιθοι ουτοι αρτοι γενωνται (فقول لهذه الحجاره ان تكون خبز) *with* D l150 l299 l950 Lvt (aur d r¹)
16. Luke 4:5a Και αναγαγων αυτον] παλιν (فاصعده ايضا) *with* Lvt (e c r¹)
17. Luke 4:5b Και αναγαγων αυτον ο διαβολος omit ο διαβολος (فاصعده) *with* S D W 1 5 131 700 788 1542^c 1582 2542 Lvt (e d) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
18. Luke 4:8 Υπαγε οπισω μου Σατανα] omit *with* S B D W Ξ 1 22 33 118 131 205 209 372 579 700 788 892* 903 1005 1210 1241 1365 1582* 2372 2542 l854 Lvt (a aur c d f ff² g¹ gat) Lvg Ss Sp Cs Cb(mss.) Ar Gg Et (Par 32. Bodl.40 PP) Go
19. Luke 4:15 εν ταις συναγωγαις αυτων omit αυτων (في الجماعات) *with* D Lvt (a b d l)Cs (1 ms.)
20. Luke 4:16 κατα το ειωθος αυτω omit αυτω (كالعاده) *with* D Lvt (a c d) Sp Cb (7mss.)
21. Luke 4:27a επι ελίσσαιου] εν ημεραις ελίσσαιου (في ايام اليشع) *with* Or Marcion ap Epiph. id. ad TE HI AM
22. Luke 4:27b ελίσσαιου του προφητου εν τω Ισραηλ omit εν τω Ισραηλ (اليشع النبي) *with* 579.²¹

²¹⁾ And also Or Marcion ap Epiph AM (cf. the previous variant).

23. Luke 4:41 Συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου] omit ο Χριστος (انت بن الله) *with* P^{75vid} S B C D F L R W X Ξ 33 213 579 700 788 1241 2542 1950 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff^g gat l r^l) Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.)
24. Luke 4:44 εν ταις συναγωγαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας] εν ταις συναγωγαῖς των ιουδαιων *with* W 713 / *or with* ιουδαιας P^{75vid} S B C L Q R 1 22 27 71 118 131 157 205 209 579 892 1005 1210 1241 1365 1458 1582 2372 2613 2643 110 112 170 180 1150 1184 1950 11056 11127 11642 Ss Sh Cs Cb (mss.)
25. Luke 5:3 και καθισας εδιδασκεν] omit καθισας (فكان يعلم) *with* Dta (3 mss.)
26. Luke 5:17b και δυναμεις κυριου] και δυναμεις θεου (وقوه الله) *with* 579 Sj Dtp Cb (3 mss.) Gg (I. II 2, 3. III)
27. Luke 5:20 ειπεν αυτω Ανθρωπε, αφεωνται] ειπεν τω ανθρωπω αφεωνται (قال لذلك الانسان) *with* 1 118 131 205 209 1582 Lvt (a b c g^l l q r^l) Sh (267)
28. Luke 5:22a αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους] omit αποκριθεις (قال لهم) *with* C D 132 11016 Lvt (a aur b c d ff^g gat l r^l) Cs (2 mss.) Et
29. Luke 5:22b Τι διαλογιζεσθε εν ταις καρδιαις υμων] + πονηρα (لماذا تنفكرون بالشر) *with* D (في قلوبكم)
30. Luke 5:26 και εκστασις ελαβεν απαντας και εδοξαζον τον θεον] omit *with* D M W X Ψ Ω* 028 13 69 118 124 157 174 205 209 213 349 544 579 788 903 1194 1195 1200 1210 1216 1241 1443 1184 1211 1253 1524 1950 11016 11056 11127 11634 11642 11663 Lvt (e d)
31. Luke 5:30 και εγογγυζον οι γραμματεις αυτων και οι Φαρισαιοι] omit αυτων *with* S D F X 118 205 209 213 788 827 1071 1215 2643 1524 1950 11627 Lvt (e d f ff^l l) Sp Dta Dtp Cs Cb Et
32. Luke 5:37 ρηζει ο νεος οινος τους ασκους] + τους παλαιους (فان الخمر الجديد يخرق فان الزقاق والباليه) *with* D Lvt(d) Cb (6 mss.) Ar GAU
33. Luke 6:1 Εγενετο δε εν σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω] omit δευτεροπρωτω (وكان... في) *with* P⁴ P^{75vid} S B L W 1 22 33 69* 118 157 205 209 579 788 1005 1210 1241 1365 2372 2542 Lvt (b c l q r^l) Sp Sh^{ms} Sj Dtp Cs Cb
34. Luke 6:4 ως εισηλθεν εις τον οικον του θεου και τους αρτους της προθεσεως ελαβεν και εφαγεν] omit ελαβεν (كيف دخل الى بيت الله فاكل خبز التقدمه) *with* S D K W Π 047 1 6 13 16 69 118 124 131 157 174 205 209 265 346 489 543 544 565 579 700 726 788 826 827 828 903 983 1079 1200 1219 1223 1241 1313 1319 1352 1542 1582 2542 2757 180 1150 1253 11627 11642 11761 Lvt (d) Sj Ar Gg IR
35. Luke 6:8 τω ξηραν εχοντι την χειρα] omit *with* Lvt (e). However, at the end of this verse Lvt (e) adds εις το μεσον which is not found in the Arabic text.
36. Luke 6:9 ψυχην σωσαι η αποκτειναι] + οι δε ενσιωπων (خيا نفس ام تهلك فسكتوا) *with* D Λ 16 124 161 174 230 262 346 348 399^c 443 477 489^c 544 726 827 954 1187 1195 1200 1215 1216 1223 1242^c 1319 1443 1510 1579 1630 2757 1547 Lvt (d) Cb (7 mss.) Et (Bodl.41)
37. Luke 6:10a και περιβλεψαμενος παντας αυτους] + εν οργη (فنظر الى كلهم بغضب) *with* D X Θ Λ 1 16 22 118 131 161 205 209 213 229^c 230 262 348 443 903 1005 1071 1187 1192 1195 1210 1216 1242* 1365 1443 1579 1582 1604 2372 1547 Lvt (aur b c d ff^l l q r^l) Sh Sj Ar Et
38. Luke 6:10b Εκτεινον την χειρα σου ο δε εποιησεν] Εκτεινον την χειρα σου ο δε εξετεινεν (ابسط يدك فبسط يده) *with* S D W X 0211 1 13 69 118 131 157 161^c

- 205 209 213 346 517 543 788 826 828 903 983 1071 1424 1582 1604 1675 2096
2542 48 184 292 950 1056 1642 Lvt Lvg Sp Sh^{ms} Cs Cb Ar Gg Go Et OS
39. Luke 6:11 αυτοι δε επλησθησαν ανοιας] then they were filled with fury and defec-
tiveness and jealousy (ثم انهم امتلوا غضب ودغل وحسد). Greek reads ανοιας; Lvt (aur
b f ff² g¹ l q r¹) read *iniquitate(n)*; Lvt (e) *ira*; Dtp “treachery and jealousy”
40. Luke 6:17 και της παραλιου Τυρου] και της παραλιου και [απο] Τυρου (ومن ساحل
البحر ومن صور) with Ss Sj. The following MSS add only και: 1220* Lvt (g¹ gat l
(lacuna in b)) Lvg (mss.) Gg (II)
41. Luke 6:20a Μακαριοι οι πτωχοι] + τω πνευματι (طوبا للمساكين بالروح) with S^c Q
X θ 028 0211 1 13 16 27 33 69 71 115 118 124 131 161^c 174 205 209 213 346
348 477 517 543 544 579 713 716 788 826 828 903 954 983 1005 1009 1071
1216 1458 1542 1579 1582 1604 1675 2372 2487 2542 2613 2643 2757 l10 l76
l211 l524 l547 l890 l950 l1016 l1056 l1127 l1627 l1663 Lvt (a c f gat r¹) Sj Cb
(7mss.) Ar Gg Et (bodl.41) Go OS
42. Luke 6:20b οτι υμετερα εστιν η βασιλεια του θεου] οτι υμετερα εστιν η βασιλεια
του ουρανου/των ουρανων (فان لهم ملكوت السما) with Cs Cb (3 mss.) Et (Par 32,
Bodl. 41) “του ουρανου” / or with X* 69 118 157 179 205 209 265 489 517 544
903 954 1200 1219 1241 1342 1424 1654 1675 2487 2757 l10 l12 l70 l76 l211
l253 l299 l854 l890 l1016 l1056 l1127 l1579 l1627 l1634 l1663 Lvt (c f) Ss Sj Gg
(II l) Go OS
43. Luke 6:25 οτι πενθησετε και κλαυσετε] *transp.* οτι κλαυσετε και πενθησετε
(فانكم ساتبكون وتنوحون) with Lvt (d) Ss Sp Dta (1 ms.) Dtp
44. Luke 6:33 και γαρ οι αμαρτωλοι το αυτο ποιουσιν] omit γαρ (واخطاه ايضا هكذا بفعلون)
with P^{75vid} S B W A 157 700 892* 1241 Lvt (r¹) Sc Cs Cb Et
45. Luke 6:34 και γαρ αμαρτωλοι] omit γαρ (واخطاه) with P⁷⁵ S B L 157 700 (omit
γαρ οι) / or with Ξ Ψ 579 892* 1579 Cs Cb (omit γαρ)
46. Luke 6:42 η πως δυνασαι λεγειν τω αδελφω σου Αδελφε αφες] omit Αδελφε (او كيف
اتركني) with D 047 157 l950 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff² l q r¹) Cb (3 mss.)
47. Luke 6:44 εκαστον γαρ δενδρον] omit γαρ (كل شجرة) with D Γ 16 205 209 230*
348 443 700 1194 l211 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff² l q r¹) Ss Cb (2 mss.) Et
48. Luke 6:45a εκ του πονηρου θησαυρου της καρδιας αυτου προφerei το πονηρον]
omit θησαυρου της καρδιας αυτου (يبدى السيات) with P⁷⁵ S B D L W Ξ 1 131
579 700 892 1241 1582* 2542 Lvt (a d ff² g¹ l) Lvg Ar AU (the Arabic omits also
εκ του πονηρου).
49. Luke 6:45b προφerei το πονηρον] τα πονηρα (يبدى السيات) with Lvt (aur b g¹ gat
l q) Lvg (mss.) Dta
50. Luke 6:45c λαλει το στομα αυτου] omit αυτου (يتكلم الفم) with C 7 16 60 267
348 477 579 827 892 983 1009 1200 1216 1313 1338 1424 1579 1654* 1675
1685 l10 l12 l48 l70 l150 l184 l211 l299 l950 l1127 l1579 l1642 Lvt (aur g¹ gat
r¹) Lvg Ss Sp Cs (2 mss.) Cb Gg
51. Luke 6:49 ο δε ακουσας] + των λογων μου (ومن يسمع كلامي) Lvt (c) Cb (1 ms.) Ar
52. Luke 7:1a Επει δε ενπληρωσεν] εγενετο δε επει/ και εγενετο επει
(فكان لما ان اكمل) with Lvt (a aur b c ff² l q) Sh
53. Luke 7:1b παντα τα ρηματα αυτου] omit αυτου (كل الكلام) with Lvt (a b c ff² l
r¹) Ss Sp Gg

54. Luke 7:6 λεγων αυτω] omit αυτω (وقال) with S* Θ 579 700 2542 Lvt (aur b g¹ gat q) Lvg Cs Cb (1 ms.) Et
55. Luke 7:9a εθαυμασεν αυτον] omit αυτον with D R X Θ 66^c 213 700 983 l253 l1663 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Sp (1ms.) Ar Gg (II)
56. Luke 7:9b ειπεν· λεγω υμιν] ειπεν αμην λεγω υμιν (فقال امين اقول لكم) with D X Θ Ψ 13 69 124 346 472 543 788 826 828 903 1009 1604 l150 l1627 Lvt (e a aur c d f g¹ gat l) Lvg Sp (1ms.) Dta Cb (7 mss.) Ar
57. Luke 7:10 τον ασθενουντα δουλον υγιαινωντα] omit ασθενουντα (الغلام قد بري) with P⁷⁵ S B L W 1 131 157 205 209 579 700 716 892* 1241 1342 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur b ff² g¹ l q r¹) Ss Sj Cs Cb Et
58. Luke 7:11 οι μαθηται αυτου ικανοι, και οχλος πολυς] omit ικανοι (تلاميذه وجماعه كثيره) with P^{75vid} S B D F L W Ξ 157 579 1241 1342 1604 l547 l1663 Lvt (e a aur d f ff² gat l r¹) Lvg Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et OS AM (mss.)
59. Luke 7:24 Απελθοντων δε των αγγελων Ιωαννου] Απελθοντων δε των μαθητων Ιωαννου (فلمّا ان انصرفا تلميذى يوحنا) with K M^c X Π 0211 1 6 7 27^c 60 131 205 209 213 265 267 346 489 565 713 726 827 903 1071 1079 1195 1200 1219 1223 1313 1424 1510 1582 1604 1654 1675 1685 2613 l10 l12 l48 l70 l211 l292 l299 l854 l890 l1056 l1627 Ss Sp Sh (txt) Dta Dtp Et OS
60. Luke 7:28a λεγω γαρ υμιν] αμην λεγω υμιν (امين اقول لكم) with S L X Ξ 157 579 892 1342 1604 2542 Sj Dta Ar Et (mss.)
61. Luke 7:28b λεγω γαρ υμιν] omit γαρ (امين اقول لكم) with P^{75vid} S B L X Ξ Ψ 7 33 60 157 267 579 700 892 1241 1342 1604 1654 1685 2542 l10 l12 l70 l184 l299 l890 l1056 l1127 l1627 Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg (I, II) Et
62. Luke 7:28c προφητης Ιωαννου] omit προφητης (يوحنا) with P⁷⁵ S B K L M W X Ξ Π 1 6 22 27* 33 71 131 157 213 265 477 489 544 565 579 726 1005 1012 1079 1200 1210 1215 1219 1220 1223 1242* 1313 1319 1365 1458 1510 1542^c 1582 1604 2372 2643 l890 Lvt (e a b c ff² l) Sj Dta Cs Cb
63. Luke 7:28d Ιωαννου του βαπτιστου] omit του βαπτιστου (يوحنا) with P⁷⁵ S B L W Ξ Ψ 1 22 131 157 579 700 1192 1210 1365 1582 2372 Ss Sp (3 mss.) Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I, II)
64. Luke 7:28e εν τη βασιλεια του θεου] εν τη βασιλεια του ουρανου/των ουρανων (في ملكوت السما) with 544 1241 1342 1424 2487 2643 l48 l211 l1056 l1761 Lvt (d) Dta Dtp Cb (mss.) Gg (I) Et (Bodl. 41)
65. Luke 7:33 μητε αρτον εσθιων μητε οινον πινων] omit αρτον (لا ياكل ولا يشرب الخمر) with D 1 13 22 69 131 543 700 788 826 828 983 1005 1192* 1200 1210 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (e b c d ff² l q) Ss Sc Ar Gg (I, II) Et (Bodl. 40)
66. Luke 7:36 ινα φαγη μετ αυτου] + αρτον (لكيما ياكل معه خبز) with 60 1685 Dta Dtp
67. Luke 7:38 και ταις θριξιν της κεφαλης αυτης εξεμασσεν] omit της κεφαλης (وتمسحهن بشعرها) with Ψ Lvt (g¹)
68. Luke 7:44 και ταις θριξιν της κεφαλης αυτης εξεμαξεν] omit της κεφαλης (ومسحتهم بشعرها) with S A B D K L P W X Θ Ξ Π Ψ 0211 1 16 22 118 131 157 179 205 (+42 MSS) l32 l292 l854 Lvt Lvg Sp Sh (W) Sj Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (mss.)
69. Luke 8:4 ειπεν δια παραβολης] ειπεν δια παραβολων (فقال لهم بامثال) with Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dtp

70. Luke 8:9 Επηρώτων δε αυτον οι μαθηται αυτου λεγοντες] omit λεγοντες (فساله تلاميذه) with P⁷⁵ S B D L W Ξ 1 33 131 157 579 700 1241 1342 1424 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff² g¹ gat) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Dtp Cs Cb Gg
71. Luke 8:14a ουτοι εισιν οι ακουσαντες] + τον λεγον (هم الذين يسمعون الكلمه) with 157 472 1009 1950 Lvt (a c f g¹ r¹) Sc Sp Sj (1 ms.) Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg
72. Luke 8:14b και ηδωνων του βιου] και ηδωνων του κοσμου (وشهوات العالم) with Sp Sh Ar
73. Luke 8:19 ουκ ηδυναντο συντυχειν αυτω] ουκ ηδυναντο συλλαλησαι αυτω (فلم يقدروا ان يكلموه) with Lvt (a c) Sp Dtp
74. Luke 8:20 και απηγγελη αυτω λεγοντων] και απηγγελη/ απηγγελη δε αυτω γαρ (فاخبروه بان) with S D L Θ Ξ 028 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 343 579 892 954 1241 1342 1582 1675 2487 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff² g¹ l q) Go
75. Luke 8:23 και συνεπληρουντο και εκινδυνευον] και εκινδυνευον (وكانوا في شدة) with Lvt (e). However, Lvt (e) omits εις την λιμνην a reading found in the Arabic text. Cf. Luke 6:8 above.
76. Luke 8:24a επιστατα επιστατα, απολλυμεθα] επιστατα, απολλυμεθα (يا معلم انا هالكين) with S^c W X Y Γ 13 66^c 131 157 213 229 348 349 372 475 489^c 579 700^c 716 827 1009 1010 1012 1216 1424 1542 1675 2542 2613 2766 170* 180 1184 1211 1854 1859 1890 11056 11642 11761 Lvt (e a aur b c f ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Cs (1 ms.) Cb (mss.) Gg (I, II) Et
77. Luke 8:24b και εγενετο γαληνη] + μεγαλη (وكان هذا عظيما) with K Δ Θ Π Ψ 1 5 6 28 118 124 131 157 174 179 205 209 229^c 265 343 348 472 477 489 544 565 716 726 827 903 954 1009 1012 1079 1200 1215 1216 1219 1223 1229 1242 1313 1319 1338 1351 1355 1424 1579 1582 1604 1630 1675 2096 2487 2542 2757 1950 11127 11642 Lvt (aur b f) Sh (sub ast.) Cs (1 ms.) Cb Et Gg
78. Luke 8:31 και παρεκαλει αυτον] και παρεκαλουν αυτον (فكانوا يطلبون اليه) with P^{75vid} S B C F L Ω 028 1 13 28 33 69 118 124 131 157 205 209 343 346 372 543 577 579 713 716 788 826 827 828 892 903 954 983 1005 1012 1071 1195 1200 1220 1229 1241 1338 1342 1365 1424 1443 1582 1604 1675 1691 2372 2487 2542 2757 1253 Lvt Lvg Cs Cb (mss.)
79. Luke 8:32a ην δε εκει αγελη χοιρων ικανων] omit ικανων (وكان هنالك غانه خنازير) with D 158 174 579 1203 1542* 170 1524 Lvt (c d r¹) Cb (mss.)
80. Luke 8:32b ινα επιτρεψη αυτοις εις εκεινους εισελθειν] ινα εις τους χοιρους εισελθωσιν (لكيما يذهبون الى الخنازير) with D Lvt (c d)
81. Luke 8:38 απελυσεν δε αυτον ο Ιησους] omit ο Ιησους (فارسله) with P^{75vid} S B D L 1 118 131 157 205 209 1241 1342 1579 1582 2542 Lvt (b c d ff² l) Cs Cb (mss.) Sj Ar Gg
82. Luke 8:44 του κρασπεδου του ιματιου αυτου] του ιματιου αυτου (ثيابه) with D Lvt (a d ff² l r¹)
83. Luke 8:45a οι οχλοι συνεχουσιν σε και αποθλιβουσιν] omit και αποθλιβουσιν with 60 1071 Lvt (a b ff² g¹ l q r¹)
84. Luke 8:45b και λεγεις, Τις ο αψαμενος μου] omit with P^{75vid} S B L 1 22 131 157 205 209 1005 1241 1365 1582* 2372 Sj (2 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar
85. Luke 8:48 ο δε ειπεν αυτη Θαρσει, θυγατερ] omit Θαρσει (قال لها يسوع يا بنت) with P⁷⁵ S B D L Ξ Ψ 1 118 131 157 205 209 579 1241 1342 1582 2643 11627 Lvt (a aur b c d f ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb Gg (I, II)

86. Luke 8:49 λεγων αυτω] omit αυτω (فقال) with P^{75vid} S B L X Ξ 1 33 118 131 157 205 213 348 477 700 1216 1241 1579 1582 Sj Cs Cb
87. Luke 8:52a ουκ απεθανεν] ου γαρ απεθανεν (فان الجارية لم تمت) with S B C D F L W X Δ Θ Ψ 047 0211 1 13 16 33 69 71 118 124 131 157 174 205 209 213 343 346 348 543 579 716 788 826 828 892 903 954 983 1071 1194 1216 1220 1229 1241 1242 1338 1342 1424 1443 1579 1582 1604 1675 2487 2643 2757 l32 l299 l524 l547 l1579 l1627 l1634 l1642 Lvt (a aur c d f ff² g¹ gat l q r¹) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp Sh (sub ast.) Sj Cs Sb Gg Go OS
88. Luke 8:52b ουκ απεθανεν] + το κορασιον (فان الجارية لم تمت) with F L M X Θ 1 13 22 27 33 66^c 69 118 131 209 213 903 1005 1012 1071 1195 1210 1220 1241 1342 1365 1424 1582 1675 2096 2372 2613 l524 l547 Lvt (aur c g¹ r¹) Lvg (mss.) Sc Sh (sub ast.) Sj Gg Et OS
89. Luke 9:1b εδωκεν αυτοις δυναμιν και εξουσιαν] εδωκεν αυτοις εξουσιαν (فاعطاهم سلطان) with 229 l184 l299
90. Luke 9:7 τα γινόμενα υπ αυτου] omit υπ αυτου (الذي يفعل) with P⁷⁵ S B L Ξ 13 69 157 543 788 826 828 983 1241 1342 2542 Lvt (e a b ff² l r¹) Ss Sc Cs Sb Ar
91. Luke 9:10 εις τοπον ερημον πολεως καλουμένης Βηθσαιδαν] εις τοπον ερημον (الى مكان معتزل بري) with S* 69 157 788 1241 Sc
92. Luke 9:22 απο των πρεσβυτερων και αρχιερων και γραμματεων] omit και γραμματεων (من الشيوخ وريسا الكهنة) with 1 118 131 205 209 1582 l48 Et (Bodl. 41)
93. Luke 9:26a και του πατρος] + αυτου (ابيه) with D 544 903 l10 Lvt (d gat) Sc Sp Cs Cb Et
94. Luke 9:26b και των αγιων αγγελων] + αυτου (وملائكته المقدسين) with Sc Sp Cs Cb (mss.) Et
95. Luke 9:28 παραλαβων Πετρον και Ιωαννην και Ιακωβον] παραλαβων Πετρον και Ιακωβον και Ιωαννην (اخذ لبطرس ويعقوب ويحنا) with P⁴⁵ C^c D L M X Ξ 5 27 33 71 157 213 348 477 892 903 1071 1194 1216 1220 1342 1458 1579 Lvt (d g¹ r¹) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp Cs (3 mss.) Cb Ar Gg Et (mss.) Go OS
96. Luke 9:35 εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος] εστιν ο υιος μου ο εκλελεγμενος/εκλεκτος (هذا هو ابني المنتخب) with P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B L Ξ 892 1241 1342/ or less likely with Θ 1 22* 1005 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (a aur ff² gat l) Lvg (ms.) Ss Sh (mg.) Cs Cb Ar Et
97. Luke 9:48 και ος εαν εμε δεζηται δεχεται τον αποστειλαντα με] και ος εαν εμε δεζηται ουκ εμε δεχεται αλλα τον αποστειλαντα με (ومن قبلني ليس لي يقبل ولكن الذي ارسلني) with Lvt (a b c ff² q)
98. Luke 9:57 Ακολουθησω σοι οπου αν απερχη Κυριε] omit Κυριε (الحقك حيث ما انطلقت) with P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B D L Ξ 1 118 131 157 205 209 1071 1342 1582 Lvt (e a aur b c d f g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Ss Sc Dtp Ar Gg OS
99. Luke 10:1 Μετα δε ταυτα ανεδειξεν ο κυριος] omit ο κυριος (ومن بعد هذا اورا) with D 1424 1675 Lvt (e a c d) Ss Sc
100. Luke 10:14 πλην Τυρω και Σιδωνι ανεκτοτερον εσται εν τη κρισει η υμιν] omit εν τη κρισει (بل انه يكون راحه لصور وصيدا ولا لكن) with P⁴⁵ D 472 1009 1241 Lvt (e d l) Gg (I)
101. Luke 10:20 οτι τα ονοματα υμων εγραφη εν τοις ουρανοις] οτι τα ονοματα υμων εγραφη εν τω ουρανω (ان اسماءكم مكتوبه في السما) with D Lvt (e a b c f ff² i l q r¹) Lvg (mss.)

102. Luke 10:21 *Εν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἡγαλλίασατο τῷ πνεύματι* ο Ἰησοῦς] *Εν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἡγαλλίασατο τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ* ο Ἰησοῦς (فتهلل الرب يسوع في تلك الساعة بروح القدس) *with* P⁷⁵ S B C D K Ξ Π 1 265* 1079 1219 1241 1582 1604 1253 1524 1547 Lvt (a aur b c d ff^g gat i l r^l) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh Sj (2 mss.) Dta Dtp Cs Cb (mss.) Et
103. Luke 10:22a (or 10:21b) *καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπεν*] omit *with* P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B D L M Ξ Π 0124 1 13 22 27 33 66^c 69 71 118 131 205 209 265* 343 348 372 489* 543 579 700 716 788 826 892 1079 1210 1216 1219 1241 1342 1424 1458 1579 1582 1675 2542 2613 Lvt (e a aur b d gat) Lvg Ss Sc Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I. III) Et OS (mss.)
104. Luke 10:23 *εἶπεν Μακαριοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτόν* (فقال طوبى للعيون التي تنظر ما ترون والأذان التي تسمع ما تسمعون) *with possibly* D Lvt (d) + *καὶ ἀκούοντες αὐτόν* or (and!) *possibly* Lvt (e c f) *καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτόν* or *possibly* Gg (I. II) *καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτόν* αὐμεῖς ἀκούετε/ or *possibly* Gg (III) *καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτόν* αὐμεῖς ἀκούετε
105. Luke 10:32 *ομοίως δὲ καὶ Λευιτὴς γενομένος κατὰ τὸν τοπὸν ἐλθὼν*] omit *γενομένος* (وكمثل ذلك ايضا ولوي جاز في ذلك الموضع) *with* P⁷⁵ B L X Ξ 0190 1 33 118 131 205 209 213 372 700 892 1012 1241 1342 1582 2096* Dtp
106. Luke 10:34 *ἐπιχεὼν ἐλαίον καὶ οἶνον*] *ἐπιχεὼν οἶνον καὶ ἐλαίον* (ونضحهن بخمر وزيت) *with* 579 11074 Lvt (r^l) Sc Sp Dta Dtp Et
107. Luke 10:35 *καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐρίον ἐξέλθων*, *ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια*] omit *ἐξέλθων* (فلما ان كان الغد اخرج دينارين اثنين) *with* P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B D L X Ξ 0190 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 213 372 579 827 892 903 1012 1071 1241 1342 1424 1582 1675 2643 2766 1253 1547 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff^g gat i l r^l) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cb Et
108. Luke 10:38 *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορευεσθαι αὐτοῦ*] *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορευεσθαι αὐτόν* (وفيما هو منطلق) *with* D 1 118 131 157 205 209 713 726 903 1200 1582 Lvt (d gat) Sj (2 mss.) Cs (1 ms.)
109. Luke 10:42 *ἐνός δὲ ἐστὶν χρεια*] *ὀλίγων* (ὀλίγος) *δὲ ἐστὶν χρεια* (والمحاجة فانها قليل) *with* Sj Ar Gg (I. II)
110. Luke 11:29 *Ἡ γένεα αὐτῆς πονηρὰ ἐστίν*] *Ἡ γένεα αὐτῆς γένεα* πονηρὰ ἐστίν (ان هذا الجيل فانه جيل سو) *with* P⁷⁵ S A B D L X Θ Ξ Ψ 0124 1 7 13 22 33 60 69 118 124 131 157 205 209 267 346 399^c 543 700 713 788 826 892 983 1005 1071 1192 1210 1241 1342 1365 1443 1582 1654 1685 2372 112 132 170 180 1150 1211 1292 1299 1854 11056 11127 11579 11627 11642 Lvt Lvg Sh (c. asterisco) Sj (1 ms.) Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (mss.)
111. Luke 11:37 *ἤρωτα αὐτόν Φαρισαῖος τις*] *ἤρωτα αὐτόν τις Φαρισαῖος* (سأله واحد من الاحبار) *with* D X Lvt (a aur d f ff^g gat i l r^l) Lvg Gg
112. Luke 11:39a *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν*] *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν* (فقال له يسوع) *with* U 16 472 1071 110 11642 Lvt (e) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sp Dta Cb (1 ms.) Et (mss.) OS
113. Luke 11:44 *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί*, *ὅτι ἐστε ὡς τὰ μνημεῖα*] omit *γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί* (الويل لكم الذي انكم كالقبور) *with* P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B C L 1 33 118 131 205 209 1241 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur c ff^g gat l) Lvg Ss Sc Cs Cb Ar Gg (I. II)
114. Luke 11:53 *λεγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτούς*] + *ἐνώπιον παντός τοῦ λαοῦ κατασινοντο καὶ* (فحين قال لهم هذا جاء كل الامم [قال] فكانوا خازنين) *with* Θ Sh (mg) Ar. It might be of some significance to point out that MSS D 16 157 348

- 477 1216 1579 1604 Lvt (e a b c d f i l q r¹) Ss Sc Et (mss.) add only ενωπιον παντος του λαου
115. Luke 12:11 μη μεριμνατε πως η τι απολογησησθε] omit η τι (لا نهتموا كيف جاوبوهم) with D 157 /859 Lvt (e a b c d ff² i l q) Sc Sp Dta
116. Luke 12:16 ειπεν δε παραβολην προς αυτους λεγων] omit λεγων (فقال لهم مثل) with 1247 Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Dtp
117. Luke 12:38 μακαριοι εισιν οι δουλοι εκεινοι] omit οι δουλοι (فقطوبا اولايك) with P⁷⁵ S^{ca} B D L Lvt (e d) Ss Sc Dta (3 mss.) Cb (10 mss.) Gg
118. Luke 12:42a ειπεν δε ο κυριος] ειπεν δε ιησους (فقال يسوع) with 13 16 69 348 472 477 543 788 826 983 1071 1216 1579 Lvt (b) Ss Sp Dta Dtp Gg (II, III)
119. Luke 12:42b ο πιστος οικονομος και φρονιμος] omit και φρονιμος (العبد الامين) with 21 348 2322 /1579 Ss Gg (I, II)
120. Luke 12:52 εσονται γαρ απο του νυν πεντε εν οικω ενι διαμεμερισμενοι τρεις επι δυσιν και δυο επι τρισιν] εσονται γαρ απο του νυν πεντε εν οικω ενι τρεις διαμεμερισμενοι επι δυσιν και δυο επι τρισιν (من الآن يكون خمسة في بيت فيكونوا) with P⁴⁵ D (Cf. Nestle-Aland) (ثلاثة مفترقين على اثنين والاثنين على ثلثة)
121. Luke 12:53 πατηρ επι υιω και υιος επι πατρι] υιος επι πατρι και πατηρ επι υιω (يفترقون الابن على الاب والاب على الابن) with P⁴⁵ 157 Dtp
122. Luke 12:56a το προσωπον της γης και του ουρανου] το προσωπον του ουρανου και της γης (وجه السما والارض) with P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S^c D K L N X Π Ψ 070 6 7 28 33 60 66 83 157 158 161 174 213 265 267 443 472 475 477 480 489 713 726 827 1009 1071 1079 1194 1200 1215 1219 1241 1313 1319 1351 1355 1604 1654 1685 2096 2322 2399 2757 2766 /10 /12 /48 /70 /150 /184 /211 /292 /299 /854 /950 /1056 /1127 /1579 /1642 /1761 Lvt Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg (I) Et OS
123. Luke 12:56b τον δε καιρον τουτον πως ου δοκιμαζετε] omit πως (وهذا الزمان ليس تعرفون ان جربون) with D Lvt (e b c d ff² i l r¹) Ss Sc Cs (1 ms.) Cb (2 mss.)
124. Luke 12:56c τον δε καιρον τουτον πως ου δοκιμαζετε] τον δε καιρον τουτον ου οιδατε δοκιμαζειν/δοκιμαζετε (وهذا الزمان ليس تعرفون ان جربون) with P⁷⁵ S B L Θ 070 33 213 892 1215 1241 Sh (267 mg, W mg) Dtp Cs Cb Et
125. Luke 13:3 παντες ωσαντως απολεισθε] omit παντες (مثلهم تهلکوا) with Lvt (ff² l r¹vid)
126. Luke 13:4a ο πυργος εν τω Σιλωαμ] ο πυργος του Σιλωαμ (برج سلوان) with D /1056
127. Luke 13:4b τους κατοικουντας εν Ιερουσαλημ] τους κατοικουντας Ιερουσαλημ (اهل بيت المقدس) with P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵vid B D L X 1 118 131 157 205 209 213 343 477 577 713 716 892 903* 1071 1194 1215 1216 1229 1313 1582 2487 /10 /184 /299 /1056 /1642 Lvt (e d i) Lvg (2 mss.)
128. Luke 13:5 παντες ομοιως απολεισθε] omit παντες (مثلهم تهلکوا) with Lvt (ff² i l) Ss Sc Cb (1 ms.)
129. Luke 13:12 ιδων δε αυτην ο Ιησους] omit ο Ιησους (فلما ان راها) with P⁴⁵ Lvt (b i)
130. Luke 13:19a και εγενετο εις δενδρον μεγα] omit εις (وصارت شجرة) with D 1 131 1582 /859 Lvt (a a² b c d f ff² i l q r¹)
131. Luke 13:19b και εγενετο εις δενδρον μεγα] omit μεγα (وصارت شجرة) with P⁷⁵ S B D L 070 892 1229 1241 2487 2542 Lvt (e a a² b d ff² i l r¹) Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
132. Luke 13:23 ο δε ειπεν προς αυτους] ο δε ειπεν προς αυτον (فقال له) with 71 827 1194 1313 1458 2766 /1663 Ss Sc Cb (1 ms.)

133. Luke 13:25 Κυριε Κυριε, ανοιξον ημιν] Κυριε ανοιξον ημιν (افتح لنا يا رب) *with* P⁷⁵ S B L 157 892 1241 /859 Lvt (e a a² aur c g¹ gat l) Lvg Ss Dta (1 ms.) Cs Cb (mss.). However, the Arabic has لنا افتح (ανοιξον ημιν) twice.
134. Luke 13:27 και ερει λεγω υμιν] omit λεγω (فبقول لكم) *with* S 579 Lvt (e a a² aur b c f ff² g¹ gat i l q r¹) Lvg Sp Dta Dtp Cs Cb
135. Luke 13:31 Εξελθε και πορευου εντευθεν] omit και πορευου (اخرج من هاهنا) *with* Et
136. Luke 13:35 εως αν ηξει οτε ειπητε] omit ηξει οτε (حتا نقولون) *with* P⁴⁵ S M X Θ 1 13 27 69 71 118 131 157 205 209 213 543 713 788 826 828 983 1010 1071 1220 1241 1242* 1458 1582 1604 2542 /48 /292 Lvt (e i) Sp Ar OS
137. Luke 14:1 Και εγενετο εν τω ελθειν] Και εγενετο εν τω εισελθειν (فكان فيما قد دخل) *with* D M Θ 13 27 28 69 71 157 346 543 579 716 788 826 828 892 903 983 1010 1071 1194 1215 1223 1242 1247 1458 1630 Lvt Lvg Ss Sc Sp
138. Luke 14:2 και ιδου ανθρωπος τις ην υδρωπικος] omit τις (وكان انسان احبذ قدامه) *with* D 1 124* 131 205 209 983 1452 1582 Lvt (b c d ff² gat i l q) Ss Dta
139. Luke 14:3 ει εξεστιν τω σαββατω θεραπειν] + η ου (هل يحل ان يداوا في يوم السبت ام لا) *with* P⁷⁵ S B D L Θ 1 13 69 124 131 157 205 209 346 543 579 788 826 828 892 983 1012 1071 1241 1582 2542 /547 /890 Lvt (e b d f q r¹) Lvg (5 mss.) Sc Sh (c. asterisco) Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Et (PP)
140. Luke 14:5 και αποκριθεις προς αυτους ειπεν] και αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους (اجاب فقال لهم) *with* A D K Y Π 5 16 158 265 343 477 489 716 726 827 1077 1079 1200 1216 1219 1223 1229 1241 1313 1319 1355 1365 1579 1604 2487 2766 /32 /890 /950 Lvt (e a b c d f ff² i l q r¹) Gg. However, MSS D K Y Π 5 265 489 726 1077 1079 1200 1219 1223 1241 1313 1319 1355 1365 1604 Lvt (e a b c d ff² i l q r¹) Gg omit αποκριθεις (against the Arabic). Hence only MSS A 16 158 343 477 716 827 1216 1229 1579 2487 2766 /32 /890 /950 Lvt (f) read και αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους and agree with the Arabic text.
141. Luke 14:19-20 interchanged *with* 5 213
142. Luke 14:21 και χωλους και τυφλους] και τυφλους και χωλους (والعمي والمقعدين) *with* P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ S B D F K L M P U W Θ Π 0211 6 27 33 66 71 83 115 157 158 179 265 343 349 443 472 480 489 579 713 716 726 827 892 903 1005 1009 1012 1071 1079 1195 1200 1219 1220 1229 1241 1247 1313 1319 1355 1365 1458 1604 1630 2322 2372 2399 2487 2613 2766 /32 /48 /253 /292 /524 /1761 Lvt (a aur b c d ff² g¹ i l q r¹) Lvg Sh Cs Cb (mss.) Go Gg Et
143. Luke 14:35 ουτε εις γην ουτε εις κοπριαν ευθετον εστιν εξω βαλλουσιν αυτο] ουτε εις γην ουτε εις κοπριαν ευθετον εστιν αλλ εξω βαλλουσιν αυτο (ليس يصلح حينئذ لا للارض ولا للزبل الا لي طرح) *with* 213 827 1012 1241 1654 2766 Lvt (e aur b c f ff² g¹ gat i l q r¹) Lvg Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dta Ar Gg
144. Luke 15:14 δαπανησαντος δε αυτου παντα] + that he had (فلما ان انفق كل شي كان معه) *with* Ss, Sc (ثم انفق كل شيء) and Sp (ثم انفق كل شيء)
145. Luke 15:16 γεμισαι την κοιλιαν αυτου] χορτασθηνα (يشبع) *with* P⁷⁵ S B D L R 1 13 69 124 346 788 826 827 828 1220 1229 1241 1582 1604 Lvt (e d f) Sc Sj Cs Go Et OS
146. Luke 15:17 Ποσοι μισθιοι του πατρος μου] Ποσοι μισθιοι εν τη οικια του πατρος μου (كم اجر في بيت ابي) Lvg (2 mss.) Sp Dta Dtp Ar
147. Luke 15:21 και ουκετι ειμι αξιος κληθηναι υιος σου] + ποιησον με ως ενα των μισθιων σου (ولست باهل ان ادعا لك ابنا اجعلني كاحد اجراك) *with* S B D U X 33 213

- 348 349 443 577 700 983 1194 1195 1215 1216 1241 1630 2643 180 1253 1890
1950 11663 11761 Lvt (d gat) Lvg (3 mss.) Sh Et OS
148. Luke 16:18 και πας ο απολελυμενην απο ανδρος γαμων] omit πας (فان هي تزوجت) with B D L 69 157 579 788 983 1194 1241 1604 2542 2757 11761 Lvt Lvg Ss Cs Cb Gg OS
149. Luke 16:19 Ανθρωπος δε τις ην πλουσιος] + ονοματι Νινευης (كان انسان غني اسمه) P⁷⁵ Cs Et (Bold. 41). P⁷⁵ reads νευης. The Cs reads **ΝΙΝΕΥΗ**/ (Nineveh). The Arabic is the closest to the Greek and corrects the scribal error in P⁷⁵.
150. Luke 16:27 Ερωτω συν σε πατερ] + αβρααμ (اطلب اليك يا ابيه ابراهيم) with D N X 213 579 1547 1890 Lvt (d) Lvg (3 mss.) Sj Gg (I) Et
151. Luke 17:4a και επτακις της ημερας επιστρεψη] omit της ημερας (ويرجع سبع مرار) with S B D L X Ψ 213 892 1241 1604 1630 2542 Lvt (a b c d ff² i l λ q r¹ s) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sc Sj Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
152. Luke 17:6 ειπεν δε ο κυριος] ο δε ειπε(v) αυτοις (وقال لهم) with D Lvt (a d) / or with Lvt (b c ff² i q) Lvg (1 ms.) (και ειπεν αυτοις).
153. Luke 17:9 ου δοκω] omit with P⁷⁵ S B L X 1 22 28 118 131 157 205 209 213 1192 1210 1241 1582 2542 Lvt (e a) Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb Ar Gg (I) Et
154. Luke 17:17 αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους ειπεν] omit αποκριθεις (فقال يسوع) with Sc Dtp
155. Luke 17:20 Επερωτηθεις δε υπο των Φαρισαιων] και επερωτηθαι αυτον οι φαρισαιοι (και) ειπον (αυτω) (وسايلوه الاحبار قائلين) with Ss Sc (Et?)²²
156. Luke 17:28 ηγοραζον επωλουν εφυτευον ωκοδομουν] ωκοδομουν και εφυτευουν και ηγοραζον και επωλουν (يبنون وينصبون ويشترون ويبيعون) with Et (mss.)
157. Luke 17:29 εβρεξεν πυρ και θειον απ ουρανου] εβρεξεν ο θεος πυρ και Θειον απ ουρανου (امطر الله من السماء نار وكبريتا) with possibly Lvt (c) which adds ο Θεος after ουρανου (or possibly a scribal confusion because of Θειον in the text. MSS A D K M W Θ Π 0211 etc. transpose πυρ και θειον and read εβρεξεν θειον και πυρ).
158. Luke 17:35a δυο εσονται αληθουσai] + εν ενι μυλωνι (واثنين يكونا يطحنان في رحا واحد) with Ss Sc Dta Et
159. Luke 17:35b αφεθησεται] + και δυο εσονται εν τω αγρω εις παραληφθησεται και ο ετερος αφεθησεται (ويكونا اثنين في حقل وواحد يوخذ والاخر يترك) with Sp (1 ms.) Dta / or with U 13 115 124 161^c 174 229^c 265^c 346 489^c 543 577 700 826 827 828 983 1012 1194 1355 1392 2096 2757 2766 Ss Sc Sp Sh
160. Luke 18:6 Ειπεν δε ο κυριος] Ειπεν δε ο Ιησους (فقال يسوع) with 713 1524 Ss
161. Luke 18:8 λεγω υμιν] ναι λεγω υμιν (نعم اقول لكم) with G M N R Θ Ψ 13 27 28 71 124 346 543 565 577 713 716 788 826 828 983 1005 1071 1194 1338 1458 1510 2372 2542 2613 2643 2757 1547 11761 Sj Cb Ar Et (Bodl. 41)
162. Luke 18:14a λεγω υμιν] αμην λεγω υμιν (امين اقول لكم) with Lvt (aur gat) Lvg (mss.)
163. Luke 18:14b η γαρ εκεινος] παρ εκεινον τον φαρισαιον (افضل من ذلك الفريسي) with D Lvt (a d) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp Dta
164. Luke 18:24 Ιδων δε αυτον ο Ιησους περιλυπον γενομενον ειπεν] omit περιλυπον γενομενον (فلما ان راه يسوع قال) with S B L 1 131 157 205 209 579 1241 1582* 2542 Sj Cs Cb Gg (I. II)
165. Luke 18:28 και ηκολουθησαμεν σοι] + τι αρα εστα ημιν (لما ان يكون لنا) with S^c X 213 472 1009 1352 Lvt (1 r¹) Lvg (1ms.)

²²) IGNTP has wrongly presented the Ss Sc and Sp variations. See IGNTP, 2:79.

166. Luke 18:29 ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἡ γονεὶς ἡ ἀδελφοὺς ἡ γυναῖκα ἡ τέκνα] *transp.* ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἡ γυναῖκα ἡ ἀδελφούς ἡ γονεὶς ἡ τέκνα (ترك بيوت او مره او اخوه او اهل او بنين) *with* S B L 579 892 1071 Cb OS. However, the Arabic has οἰκίας (pl.) instead of οἰκίαν (singl.). Either a coincidental convergence or a variant agreeing with D H 69 157 713 2487 148 170 1292 Lvt (d) Sp
167. Luke 19:3 καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο] + βλεπεῖν (وليس كان يقدر ان يراه) *with* Gg
168. Luke 19:5 εἶδεν αὐτον· καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτον] omit εἶδεν and possibly αὐτον καὶ (فقال له) *with* S B L Θ 0139 1 131 205 209 579 1071 1241 1582 2542 Ar (omit εἶδεν αὐτον καὶ) *or with* Cs Cb Gg (omit εἶδεν αὐτον) *or with* Et (omit εἶδεν)
169. Luke 19:8 σταθεὶς δὲ Ζακχαῖος εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν κυρίον] omit πρὸς τὸν κυρίον (فقام زكي قدامه فقال) *with* Dta (3 mss.)
170. Luke 19:26 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν] ο δὲ εἶπεν λέγω αὐτοῖς (فقال اقول لكم) *with* Sp Dta (εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λέγω) *or with* Lvt (i) (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λέγω) *or with* Cs (1 ms.) (εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς λέγω) *or with* 1424^c Et (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λέγω) *or with* 903 2643 2757 (ο δὲ εἶπεν λέγω)
171. Luke 19:31a Δια τι λυτε] omit *with* D Lvt (e c d ff² l s)
172. Luke 19:31b ερεῖτε αὐτῶ] omit αὐτῶ (فقولوا) *with* S B D F L R 063 28 213 579 1241 1542 2542 Lvt (e c d ff² i l q r¹ s) Cs Cb Gg (II 4) Et (mss.)
173. Luke 19:42a λέγων οτι Εἰ εγὼς καὶ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σου ταυτῇ] omit καὶ γε (وقال لو كنت تعرفي هذا اليوم) *with* S B D L Θ 5 157 579 892 1012 2542 (Lvt e d f q s) Dta Gg
174. Luke 19:42b λέγων οτι Εἰ εγὼς καὶ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σου ταυτῇ] omit σου (وقال لو كنت تعرفي هذا اليوم) *with* S A B D L Θ Ψ 1 5 16 71 118 124 131 157 205 209 265 472 565 579 892 1009 1012 1338 1582 2487 2542 110 1184 Lvt (e d f i q s) Ss Sc Sj Cs
175. Luke 19:42c τα πρὸς εἰρηνὴν σου] omit σου (الذي انه للسلام) *with* S B L Θ 213 579 1012 2096 Cs Cb
176. Luke 19:45 ἐκβαλλειν τοὺς πωλουντας ἐν αὐτῷ Καὶ ἀγοραζοντας] omit ἐν αὐτῷ Καὶ ἀγοραζοντας (يخرج اولايك الذين كانوا يبيعون) *with* S B L 1 22 205 209 579 1210 1241 1582* Sj Cs Cb Gg OS
177. Luke 20:2 ἡ τις] καὶ τις (ومن) *with* D 579 827 903 Lvt (e a d gat) Lvg (2 mss.) Sp OS
178. Luke 20:3 Ερωτησω υμας καγω ενα λογον] omit ενα (وانا ايضا اسلكم كلمه) *with* S B L R W 1 33 69 118 131 157 205 209 788 1012 1229 1582 2096 2542 Lvt (c q) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sp Sj (1 ms.) Cs Cb Gg OS
179. Luke 20:8 καὶ ο Ἰησοὺς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς (ο Ἰησοὺς) εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (فاستجاب يسوع وقال لهم) *with* S*
180. Luke 20:13 ἰσῶς τούτον ἰδόντες ἐντραπησονται] omit ἰδόντες (لعلهم يستحون منه) *with* S B C D L Q Ψ 0211 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 579 892 1241 1582 2542 2643 Lvt (a c d ff² i l q r¹) Ss Sc Sh (mg.) Sj Cs Cb Ar Gg
181. Luke 20:20 Καὶ παρατηρησαντες ἀπεστείλαν ἐγκαθετοὺς υποκρινομενους εαυτοὺς δικαίους] omit ἐγκαθετοὺς (فاكمنوا له وارسلوا اليه من يصنعون انفسهم صديقين) *with* Lvt (ff² i l q). However these old Latin witnesses read, in the same verse, αποχωρησαντες (to leave, go away) instead of παρατηρησαντες (lie in wait for). The Arabic has ἀκمنوا له (from كمنوا to lie in wait).
182. Luke 20:23 τι με πειραζετε] omit *with* S B L 0266^{vid} 1 118 131 157 205 209 230 579 892 1241 1424 1582 2542 Lvt (e) Cs Cb Ar OS (mss.)

183. Luke 20:24a επιδειξατε μοι δηναριον] + οι δε εδειξαν και ειπε/ειπεν/ειπαν (فأوروه فقال) with S*(c) C L N* 0211 0266^{vid.} 1 5 6 13 21 22 27^c 33 69 71 118 124 131 157 205 209 213 346 349 399^c 443 475 543 577 726 788 826 827 828 892 903 983 1005 1071 1187^c 1192 1194 1195 1200 1210 1215 1223 1242 1319 1365 1443 1458 1510 1582 1604 1630 2372 2542 2613 2766 /184 /1761 Sh Ar
184. Luke 20:24b αποκριθεντες δε ειπον] οι δε ειπαν (فقالوا) with S B L N 21 33 213 579 892 1241 Sp Cs Cb Gg (II. III) OS
185. Luke 20:27 οι αντιλεγοντες] οι λεγοντες (الذين يقولون) with S B C D L N Θ 0211 1 7 22 33 60 118 131 205 209 213 267 372 565^c 579 827 892 1005 1071 1192 1210 1241 1319 1365 1582 1604 1654 1685 2372 2542 2766 /10 /12 /70 /80 /150 /184 /211 /299 /854 /950 /1056 /1127 /1579 /1642 Lvt (e d r¹) Ss Sc Sp Cs Cb Go OS
186. Luke 20:28 και ουτος ατεκνος αποθανη] και ουτος ατεκνος η/ην (ولم يكن له ولد) with S^c B L P Ψ 1 16 33 118 131 157 205 209 213 348 372 477 579 713 892 1071 1216 1579 1582 2542 Lvt (aur ff² g¹ gat l q r¹) Lvg Cs Cb Ar Gg OS
187. Luke 20:29 επτα συν αδελφοι ησαν] ησαν παρ ημιν επτα αδελφοι / επτα (συν) αδελγοι ησαν παρ ημιν (وكانوا عندنا سبعة اخوه) with S^c D 27^c 71 1242 1458 1510 /950 Lvt (c d ff² 1 q) Ss Gg Et
188. Luke 20:30 και ελαβεν ο δευτερος την γυναικα και ουτος απεθανεν ατεκνος] και ο δευτερος (والثاني) with S B D L 157 213 892 1012 1241 Lvt (d e) Cs Gg.
189. Luke 20:32 υστερον δε παντων απεθανεν και η γυνη] υστερον και η γυνη απεθανεν (اخريا ماتت المره) with S B D 579 Lvt (d ff² r¹) Ss Sc Sp Cs (mss.) Cb
190. Luke 20:34 και αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις ο Ιησους] omit αποκριθεις / και αποκριθεις (فقال لهم يسوع) S B D L 124 157 579 892 1241 Lvt (a aur c d f ff² g¹ i l r¹) Lvg Sc Sp Cb Cs(?)
191. Luke 21:25a και επι της γης συνοχη εθνων εν απορια] και επι της γης συνοχη εθνων και απορια (ويكون على الارض شدة الام و تعجب) with D Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp
192. Luke 21:25b ηχουσης θαλασσης] ηχους θαλασσης (صوت البحر) with S A B* C L M N R X 669* 713 788 826 828 983 1071 1079 1195 1219 1241 1582* 2542 2766 /524 Lvt (e a c f ff² g¹ gat i l q r¹) Lvg Dta Dtp OS
193. Luke 21:25c και σαλυν] omit with Dtp
194. Luke 21:30a οταν προβαλωσιν] οταν αρξωσι προβαλλειν (إذا بدین یزین ويخرج الورق) with Lvt (e f) Ss Sc
195. Luke 21:30b βλεποντες αφ εαυτων] αφ εαυτων τα φυλλα (ويخرج الورق منهم) with Lvt (r¹)
196. Luke 21:37 εις το ορος το καλουμενον Ελαιων] εις το ορος (των) Ελαιων (في جبل الزيتون) with Γ 1 118 131 205 209 669 1005 1365 2372 2542 Dtp (το ορος των Ελαιων) or with X* 1582 /10 Lvt (e l r¹) (το ορος Ελαιων)
197. Luke 22:14 και οι δωδεκα αποστολοι συν αυτω] και οι δωδεκα συν αυτω (ومعه الاثنا عشر) with S^c L X 213 1012 1071 1194 1223 1241 2757 Cs (2 ms.)
198. Luke 22:16a ουκετι] omit with P^{75vid} S A B H L Θ 0211 1 579 669 1012 1241 2487 /70 /950 /1016 /1231 /1579 /1663 Lvt (a) Cs Cb
199. Luke 22:16b μη φαγω εξ αυτου] μη φαγω αυτο (لا اكله) with S B C*^{vid} L 1 22 118 131 205 209 1192 1210 1582 /1231 Lvt (e a aur b c ff² g¹ gat i l q r¹) Ss Sc Sp Sh (mg.) Dta Cs Cb
200. Luke 22:30 και καθισεσθε επι θρονων] και καθισεσθε επι δωδεκα θρονων (وجلسون على اثنا عشر كرسي) with S^c D X 27 71 213 343 443 472 579 892 mg 903

- 1005 1009 1071 1195 1203 1220 1229 1338 1365 1458 1510 2372 2487 2613 180
 1950 11016 11579 Lvt (a b d f ff² l q r¹) Ss Sc Sh (c. asterisco) Sj Cb (1 ms.) Ar Gg
201. Luke 22:31 ειπεν δε ο Κυριος, Σιμων Σιμων] omit ειπεν δε ο Κυριος (يا سمعان يا سمعان) *with* P⁷⁵ B L T 1241 11231 Ss Cs Cb (mss.) Gg (I, II)
202. Luke 22:36 και ο μη εχων] + μαχαιραν (ومن ليس له سكين) *with* 2096 Lvg (4 mss.) Sc Sp Sj (1 ms.) Dta Dtp Cb (8 mss.)
203. Luke 22:52 ειπεν δε ο Ιησους] omit ο Ιησους (فقال) *with* D 1 118 131 205 209 472 1338* 1582 Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sc Ar
204. Luke 22:60 και παραχρημα ετι λαλουντος αυτου εφωνησεν αλεκτωρ] omit ετι λαλουντος αυτου (ومن ساعته صاح الديك) *with* Ss Sc
205. Luke 22:61a και στραφεις ο κυριος] και στραφεις ο ιησους (فالتفت يسوع) *with* D 063 0211 1 21 118 124* 131 205 209 349 472 903 1195 1241 1582 1604 1630 2613 Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sp Sh (txt) Dta Dtp Cb (6 mss.) Et (mss.)
206. Luke 22:61b του λογου του κυριου] του λογου του ιησου N 13 346 472 543 826 828 1071 2643 Ss Sp (1 ms.) Et (mss.)
207. Luke 22:61c στι Πριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι] + σημερον (انه قبل يصبح الديك اليوم) *with* P^{69vid} P⁷⁵ S B K L M T X Π 0124 6 27 71 157 158 213 265 443 475 489 1319 1355 1458 1510 Ss Sh (c. asterisco) Cs Cb Et
208. Luke 22:64 και επηρωτων αυτον λεγοντες] omit επηρωτων αυτον ((ويقولون له)) *with* D Lvt (d) Ss Sc Sp
209. Luke 22:68 εαν δε και ερωτησω] + υμας (وان سالتكم) *with* 13 69 124 343 346 475 543 579 716 788 826 828 983 1229 2487 2542 1547 Lvt (ff²) Ss Sc Sp Dta Dtp Gg OS
210. Luke 23:2 το εθνος] + ημων (امتنا) *with* P⁷⁵ S B D H K L M N R T Y Π Ψ 0211 6 13 16 60 66^c 69 118 124 131 158 179 205 209 265 267 346 348 349 372 443 (+ 46 MSS) 148 1184 1211 1292 1299 1524 1547 1950 11127 Lvt (aur d f g¹) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg Et OS
211. Luke 23:3 ο δε αποκριθεις αυτω εφη] λεγει αυτω (فقال له) *with* Ss Sp
212. Luke 23:6 Πιλατος δε ακουσας Γαλιλαιαν] omit Γαλιλαιαν (فلما ان سمع ببلطس) *with* P⁷⁵ S B L T 0124 1241 Cb. Nestle-Aland adds MS 070
213. Luke 23:13 και τους αρχοντας και τον λαον] και τους αρχοντας του λαου (واشراف الامم) *with* 16 348 1216 Lvt (e a b f ff² l r¹) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp (3 mss.) Dta Dtp Cs (mss.) Et
214. Luke 23:15 αλλ ουδε Ηρωδης ανεπεμψα γαρ υμας προς αυτον] αλλ ουδε Ηρωδης ανεπεμψα γαρ αυτον προς ημας (ولا هيرودس ايضا كان يرسله الينا) *with* P⁷⁵ S B K^c L M T Y Θ Π 0124 27 66^c 71 157 158 265 348 372 443 489 892 1071 1194 1200 1216 1219 1220 1223 1241 1319 1355 1458 1579 1524^c Lvt (aur f g¹) Lvg (3 mss.) Sh (mg.) Cs Cb
215. Luke 23:17 κατα εορτην ενα] + δεσμιον ον ηθελων (اسير واحد في العيد الذي يريدون) *with* 472 1009
216. Luke 23:23 και κατισχυον αι φωναι αυτων και των αρχιερεων] omit και των αρχιερεων (وكانوا يشدوا اصواتهم) *with* P⁷⁵ S B L 0124 1241 Lvt (e a aur b ff² g¹ gat l) Lvg Cs Cb
217. Luke 23:25 απελυσεν δε (αυτοις)] + τον βααραββαν/ τον βααραβον / τον βαρββον (حينئذ ارسل لهم بريان) *with* 1 6 7 13 21 22 27^c 60 69 71* 118 124 131 205 209 346 399^c 726 788 826 828 983 1005 1187^c 1192 1194 1200 1210 1215 1223

- 1319 1365 1458 1510 1582 1604 1654 1685* 2372 110 112 148 170 180 1211 1299 1547 11056 11127 11579 11761 Ar Gg (I. II. III) OS (mss.)
218. Luke 23:27 και γυναικων αι και εκοπιοντο και εθρηνουν αυτον] omit και (ونسوه كن ينحن ويقطعن عليه) with P⁷⁵ S A B C* D L N X Ψ 0124 0211 33 213 443 472 475* 700* 892 1009 1071 1195 1220 1241 1313 1424 1604 1675 2542 2766 1547 Lvt (e a aur b d f ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg OS Cs (mss.) Cb (mss.) Dta Dtp
219. Luke 23:35 ο Χριστος ο του θεου] ο Χριστος (ο) υιος του θεου (ο) (السيح بن الله) with P⁷⁵ 0124 5 13 69 131 346 443 472 543 788 826 828 983 1009 1071 1220 Lvt (l r¹) Sj Sh Cs Et OS
220. Luke 23:38a ην δε και επιγραφη γεγραμμενη επ αυτω] omit γεγραμμενη (وكان ايضا كتاب [عليه]) with P⁷⁵ S B L 0124 372 1241 Cs Cb (the occurrence of عليه twice is either because the Greek has επι twice, or because of a scribal mistake)
221. Luke 23:38b γραμμασιν Ελληνικοις και Ρωμαιοις και Εβραιοις] omit with P⁷⁵ S* B C* L 0124 1241 (Lvt a) Cs Cb (mss.)
222. Luke 23:42 μνησθητι μου Κυριε] omit Κυριε (اذكرني) with P⁷⁵ S B C* L M* Π 158 489* 669 1079 1219 1241 1355 Lvt (c) Sj (2 mss.) Cs (4 mss.) Gg (II 1, 2, 3)
223. Luke 23:50 ανηρ αγαθος Και δικαιος] omit ανηρ (كان شريف وصادق) with D Γ Lvt (e a b d ff² l q)
224. Luke 24:2 απο του μνημειου] απο της θυρας του μνημειου (عن باب القبر) with X 115 213 348 1200 1215 1604 1253 11761 Sj Dta (2 mss.) Cb (1 ms.)
225. Luke 24:13 σταδιους εξηκοντα] σταδιους εκατον εξηκοντα (ميه وستين) with S K* N Θ Π 0211 158 265 1604 Lvt (g¹) Lvg (4 mss.) Sh (267. 268) Sj
226. Luke 24:15 και αυτος ο Ιησους εγγισας] omit αυτος (فاذا يسوع قد اقترب) with D 579 Lvt (a d) Ss Sc Sp (1 ms.) Dta Dtp Et
227. Luke 24:19 εν εργω και λογω] εν λαγω και εργω (بالكلام والفعال) *transp.* with S D 1654 Lvt (d) *or* with Sp Dta (εν λαγω και εργοις)
228. Luke 24:49 εν τη πολει Ιερουσαλημ] omit Ιερουσαλημ (في المدينة) with P⁷⁵ S B C* D L Lvt (e a aur b c d ff² g¹ gat l r¹) Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.)
229. Luke 24:50 Εξηγαγεν δε αυτους εξω] omit εξω (فاخرجهم) with S B C* L 1 33 157 579 1582* Lvt (e a) Ss Sp Ar Gg (I. II)
230. Luke 24:53 εν τω ιερω αινουντες και ευλογουντες] omit αινουντες και (في الهيكل يباركون) with P⁷⁵ S B C* L Ss Sj Gg (I. II)

7. General Conclusion

7.1. An Assessment of the Apparatus

CSA seems to be a mixture of Alexandrian and Western text types.²³ The apparatus above consists of 230 variants, 36 of which are not witnessed by the extant Greek manuscripts. This does not mean however, that none of

²³) For a critique on the use of text-types, see D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, Chapter 5.1. (Forthcoming).

them reflect a *textual* Greek variation. Some of the readings are witnessed by more than one version, and might show a Greek *Vorlage* which has not survived to our day. For instance, the variant in Luke 7:1a is attested by the Old Latin MSS a aur b c ff² l q, and also the Syriac Harklean version. Luke 7:1b is attested by Old Latin MSS Lvt a b c ff² l r¹, and also the Syriac Sinaiticus, the Peshitta and Georgian versions. Luke 9:26b is supported by the Syriac Curetonian and the Peshitta, and also Sahidic, Bohairic and the Ethiopian versions. However, one should not eliminate the possibility that some of them have diverged from the Greek *Vorlage* because of internal linguistic demands and have coincided with readings found in other biblical versions.

The apparatus reveals some valuable textual information, it includes:

CSA versus Greek Manuscripts

The chart below shows the agreements between CSA and a specific Greek manuscript. The first column has the MS number; the second column gives the number of times a specific Greek manuscript agrees with the Arabic. The number in brackets is the percentage based on the total number of unit-variants of the Apparatus (230 unit-variants); the third column gives the percentage based only on variants which have at least one Greek witness supporting the variant in question (230 – 36= 194); and the last column gives the average of the figures in column two and three.

Chart 1

S	98/230 (42.60%)	98/194 (50.51%)	46.56%
D	97/230 (42.17%)	97/194 (50.00%)	46.09%
B	78/230 (33.91%)	78/194 (40.21%)	37.06%
P ⁷⁵	51/165 (30.91%)*	51/143 (35.66%)	33.29%
P ⁴⁵	14/50 (28.00%)	14/43 (32.56%)	30.28%
C	25/105 (23.80%)	25/91 (27.47%)	25.64%
118 (a representative of f ¹)	47/230 (20.43%)	47/194 (24.23%)	22.33%
Θ	29/230 (12.61%)	29/194 (14.95%)	13.78%
13 (a representative of f ¹³)	27/230 (11.74%)	27/194 (13.92%)	12.83%
A	7/230 (03.04%)	7/194 (03.60%)	03.32%

* P⁷⁵ has only 165 variants because it is fragmentary. This is also true for P⁴⁵ and C.

The chart above clearly supports the hypothesis that CSA's *Vorlage* is a mixture of Alexandrian and Western text types. The Caesarean is

unlikely to be the text type of the *Vorlage*. Another important statistic is that 50/230 (21.74%) (or 50/195 (25.64%)) are the number of variants which agree with Codex Bezae against Codex Sinaiticus.

CSA versus Latin Manuscripts

As far as the Latin MSS are concerned:

- 158/230 (68.70%) readings agree with one or more Old Latin MS/MSS (and some Greek MSS etc.)
- 64/230 (27.83%) readings agree with one or more Vulgate MS/MSS (plus Greek, Old Latin MSS etc.)
- 7/230 (3.04%) readings agree *only* with one or more Old Latin MS/MSS
- 2/230 (0.87%) readings agree with the Vulgate (plus Greek, etc.) but not the Old Latin MSS.

From the apparatus above, it seems obvious that there is a common tradition behind the Old Latin and CSA. The chart below shows to which Latin manuscript CSA is closer. (Fragmentary Old Latin MSS were discarded.)

Chart 2

MS	Number of readings agreeing with CSA	Defective readings	Percentage	Percentage incl. defective readings
d	95/158	0	60.13%	
l	77/158	0	48.73%	
a	75/158	0	47.47%	
ff ²	71/158	7	44.94%	48.73%
e	71/158	5	44.94%	48.10%
r ¹	71/158	0	44.94%	
c	70/158	0	44.30%	
b	62/158	16	39.24%	49.37%
aur	53/158	0	33.54%	
g ¹	51/158	0	32.28%	
q	40/158	6	25.32%	29.11%
f	36/158	0	22.78%	

The chart above shows that MS d has the highest percentage of readings which agree with CSA. The Old Latin d is the Latin text of Codex Bezae (about 400 A.D.),²⁴ and the Greek text of this codex also agrees closely with CSA.

Old Latin MS a of the 4th century, which is considered to represent the early form of the European Latin text, has one of the highest percentages (47.47%) as opposed to MS q (considered to have an Italian text) which has one of the lowest percentages (25.32%).

MS e (which is, after k, the most important witness to the African Latin text) has a relatively high percentage of agreements with CSA. If we include the defective readings as a possible supportive to CSA (five variants) then MS e will have a higher percentage than a.

CSA versus Other Early Versions

Firstly, as far as the Coptic manuscripts are concerned, 101/230 readings agree with one or more Bohairic MSS; 91/230 readings agree with one or more Sahidic MSS. In general both the Sahidic and the Bohairic versions agree with the Alexandrian text type. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the Sahidic has many Western readings, especially in the Gospels and Acts.

Secondly, as far as the Syriac MSS are concerned, 75/230 readings agree with the Sinaiticus; 64/230 with the one or more Peshitta MSS; 56/230 with the Curetonian; 50/230 with Syriac Jerusalem Lectionaries; and three readings agree with the Syriac only.

Thirdly, 61/230 readings agree with one or more Ethiopian MS/MSS, and 3/230 agree with the Ethiopian versions only.

Fourthly, 48/230 readings agree with the Arabic Diatessaron and two readings agree with the Arabic Diatessaron only; 39/230 readings agree with the Persian Diatessaron and one reading agrees with the Persian Diatessaron only.

7.2. The Text Type of the Vorlage of the Gospel of Luke in CSA

CSA has an unusual mixture of Alexandrian and Western text-types. On the one hand there are variants showing clear affinities with the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, P⁷⁵, P⁴⁵ (and also with the Sahidic (partially Alexandrian) and

²⁴ See D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge University Press, 1992) 27-30.

Bohairic Coptic versions), and on the other hand with Codex Bezae, Old Latin version, and the Syriac Sinaiticus text. Some of the readings are extremely archaic; they are supported by a few of the earliest Greek manuscripts, and reflect the archaic nature of the *Vorlage*. CSA agrees with a relatively high number of Old Latin readings, but also Old Syriac readings and reflects a Greek *Vorlage* which underlines both Latin and Syriac traditions. Textually speaking, CSA stands as unique among the extant Arabic Gospel manuscripts. It witnesses to the richness of the Greek biblical text which was in circulation before the eighth century.

There are still important areas in CSA which need further investigation. A Greek reconstruction of the Arabic text (of the Four Gospels) is first needed to help non-Arabicists to benefit most from this codex, and to make their own contribution. An extensive textual examination of the Four Gospels of CSA is certainly essential, and will follow this study in the near future. A clear relationship between the Arabic text and old Latin versions still needs to be established.

On a linguistic level, Arabicists might find this text crucial and a publication of the Four Gospels is certainly worth undertaking. A closer palaeographic examination might help us date it with more accuracy. It remains extremely difficult to be confident whether CSA was copied in the early eighth century, middle eighth century or early ninth century. The second half of the eighth century seems to be most likely. The question which remains unanswered is when the Archetype of CSA was first produced. Is it in the fifth, sixth or seventh century? This question may never receive a satisfactory answer. All that we know is that the text of CSA was in circulation in the eighth century.

The geographical location of this manuscript is still a mystery. Generally speaking the ninth century Arabic Gospel manuscripts have emerged in South Palestine and Syria. Is this true for CSA? Should we consider other possibilities? Which church did this manuscript belong to? What kind of relationship exists between CSA and other Arabic Gospel manuscripts of the ninth century? All these questions await an answer.

It is the author's hope that this article will stimulate interest in the Arabic gospel manuscripts, so that, with the involvement of more scholars, new light may be shed on the history of the biblical text.

Verbal Aspect in the Apocalypse of John: An Analysis of Revelation 5

David Mathewson

Wenham, Massachusetts

Abstract

There has been much discussion and confusion regarding the verb tenses in Revelation's visions, where the author shifts tenses while apparently retaining the same temporal frame of reference. This phenomenon of shifting tenses in the Apocalypse has usually been understood to reflect temporal references in relation to the visionary experience of the author, or more commonly to reflect underlying Semitic influence. However, recent work on verbal aspect and also the notion of prominence from discourse analysis calls these previous approaches into question and provides fresh avenues for exploring the author's varied use of tenses throughout his visions. The array of tense forms utilized throughout the vision in Revelation 5 can profitably be understood in light of recent work on verbal aspect and discourse prominence, where the author's shift in tenses function to signal the author's perspective on the action and the level of importance that the author attaches to various elements in the vision.

Keywords

Apocalypse, prominence, verbal aspect

The language of the Apocalypse has long been the source of much confusion and dispute. Much discussed are the apparent grammatical infelicities or so-called solecisms in Revelation, as well as the larger question of the precise nature of John's Greek. Most of the discussion has centered on whether the usage of Greek reflects incompetence on the part of the author of the Apocalypse, or whether it falls within the range of possible registers of the Greek of the 1st century, or whether it reflects significant Semitic influence, as a kind of Christianized, Jewish-Greek.¹ In the ensuing investigation I

¹⁾ For a full discussion of the issues involved cf. G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of John: A Study in Bilingualism* (NovTSup 27; Leiden: Brill, 1971); S. Thompson, *The Apocalypse of John and Semitic Syntax* (SNTSMS 52; Cambridge:

want to examine only one feature of the Apocalypse's grammar—the use of verb tenses in the visionary segments.

One intriguing phenomenon of the Apocalypse's visions is the manner in which the author employs a range of tense forms (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, future) to depict the processes that form the narrative account (cf. e.g. 4:1-11; 5:1-14; 11:1-13; 13:1-18), apparently with reference to the same temporal sphere. This shifting of tenses has not gone unnoticed. W. Bousset characterized the shifting tenses in the Apocalypse as "das regellose Schwanken."² S. Thompson also observed the "sudden and seemingly inexplicable shifts among aorist/present/future tenses of verbs... without a corresponding shift in the time during which the action being described actually takes place."³ At least two prominent explanations (not unrelated) have been postulated as a means of accounting for the phenomenon of shifting tenses in Revelation's visions. First, based on the assumption that Greek tenses primarily grammaticalize temporal relations (aorist, imperfect tenses = past; present tense = present; future tense = future), some think that John's use of tenses reflects time in relationship to the visionary experience of the seer. G. Mussies insists that the tense usage in John's visionary segments is temporally motivated and reveals a pattern where the author commences with a past tense (aorist) to recount what he saw or heard in the past, followed by a cluster of present tenses which provide "the life pictures of events and situations" and indicate "lively representation" as he recounts or relives his visionary experience in the present (the so-called "historical present").⁴ The present tenses, then, form a transition to future tenses which convey the prophetic character of the vision—they predict future events. Consequently, the shifting of tenses is temporally motivated and is a reflection of the author's need to recount his apocalyptic visionary experience.

University Press, 1986); S.E. Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion," *NTS* 35 (1989) 582-603; D.D. Schmidt, "Semitisms and Septuagintalsms in the Book of Revelation," *NTS* 37 (1991) 592-603. See the well-known dictum by R.H. Charles, that "while he [John] writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* [2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920] 1: cxliii).

² W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906) 168.

³ Thompson, *Semitic Syntax*, 47. However, I would also include the perfect tense form. Thompson further explains that "While related shifts are found to a limited degree in other parts of the NT, the phenomenon is more pronounced in the Apc." (47).

⁴ Mussies, *Morphology*, 333-4.

Second, perhaps the most common theory is that John's tense usage reflects some level of Semitic influence. Given that John's use of tenses does not appear to conform to the standard conception of Greek tenses (usually temporal, see above), several scholars have maintained that John's "seemingly inexplicable" usage of tenses in his visions could be accounted for by assuming influence from the Biblical Hebrew tense system. Earlier, A. Lancellotti proposed a rationale for John's ostensible confused use of tenses in the timelessness of the underlying Hebrew tense system.⁵ More recently, S. Thompson has attempted to provide an explanation for the "anomalous" use of the tenses in the Apocalypse by pointing to corresponding shifts in the LXX reflecting the underlying Semitic verbal system.⁶ He illustrates this phenomenon by drawing attention to examples from Theodotion and the LXX (Dan. 4:31-32, 35; 7:26; Hos. 4:10) where the tense variations in the LXX and Theodotion are apparently based on corresponding shifts in the underlying Hebrew text.

In light of some of the attention that the verbal system in the Apocalypse has garnered, in the rest of this paper I wish to analyze the usage of Greek verb tenses in one segment of John's visionary portrayal, Revelation 5. In doing so I want to apply the results of recent research into the theory of verbal aspect, a theory that has not yet been systematically applied to the Apocalypse, as a potential tool for sorting out the shifting verb tenses in this discrete visionary segment. While grammarians traditionally have understood either time and/or *Aktionsart* (kind of action) as the primary feature grammaticalized in the verb tense endings,⁷ there is now increasing recognition that the Greek verbal tense system is fundamentally an aspectual system. According to its major catalyst, S.E. Porter, verbal aspect is "a

⁵ A. Lancellotti, *Sintassi ebraica nel greco dell'Apocalisse, vol 1. Uso delle forme verbali* (Collectio Assisiensis I; Assisi: Studio Teologico, 1964) esp. 39-43. Cf. Charles, *Revelation*, 1: cxxiii-cxxvi. Yet Charles suggests that each case must be studied in its own context; according to Charles the "confusion" of tenses may even at times reflect an underlying source (e.g. Rev. 11).

⁶ Thompson, *Semitic Syntax*, 47-50. Thompson examines both individual instances of verb tenses which do not correspond to "acceptable" Greek usage, as well as the shifting tenses in whole segments of visions.

⁷ See A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934); F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University Press, 1961); and more recently D.B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996).

synthetic, semantic category (realized in the forms of verbs) used of meaningful oppositions in a network of tense systems to grammaticalize the author's reasoned subjective choice of conception of a process."⁸ Or, "Aspects pertain . . . to the focus of the speaker with reference to the action or state which the verb describes, his way of viewing the occurrence and its make-up, without any *necessary* regard to the (actual or perceived) nature of the situation itself."⁹ What is significant about these definitions is the recognition that Greek verb endings do not so much signify when the action occurred (time), or the way the action actually occurred (*Aktion-sart*), the main focus of traditional grammatical discussion, but rather *how the author chooses to represent, view, or conceive of the process* (aspect). That is, the author's perspective on a given process is the semantic feature grammaticalized by the verb morphological endings, irrespective of time or *Aktionsart*. Porter proposes three primary aspectual categories or ways of viewing processes: action viewed as a complete whole; action viewed as in progress, as developing; action viewed as a state of affairs. These three aspects are grammaticalized by the aorist, present (imperfect), and perfect (pluperfect) tense forms respectively.¹⁰

While much of the work done on verbal aspect in the Greek New Testament has necessarily been done at a theoretical level, what remains is to demonstrate how verbal aspect actually functions over stretches of NT discourse.¹¹ The application of aspect theory to the book of Revelation has

⁸ S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989) 107. See also S.E. Porter, *Idioms of New Testament Greek* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); K.L. McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb in the New Testament* (SBG 5; New York: Peter Lang, 1994) 27: "Aspect in ancient Greek is that category of the verb system by means of which an author (or speaker) shows how he views each event or activity he mentions in relation to its context." Cf. B. Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976) 4.

⁹ B.M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 50, though unlike Porter, Fanning still thinks that time is a factor in the indicative mood. For further discussion of verbal aspect and evaluation of the works of Porter and Fanning see S.E. Porter and D.A. Carson (eds.), *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in the Current Debate* (JSNTSup 80; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); K.L. McKay, "Time and Aspect in New Testament Greek," *NovT* 34 (1992) 209-28.

¹⁰ Due to its lengthy pedigree of usage, I will continue to use the term "tense," but with reference solely to the *formal endings* ("tense forms") of the verbs themselves, not to temporal values (past, present, future).

¹¹ An illuminating example of how aspectual theory, especially as articulated by Porter, works across an example of NT discourse is R. Decker, *Temporal Deixis of the Greek Verb in the Gospel of Mark with Reference to Verbal Aspect* (SBG 10; New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

not yet been systematically undertaken. Given the recent attention devoted to the Greek verbal system reconceptualized in terms of verbal aspect, the shifting tenses in the visionary segments of the Apocalypse provide potentially fertile ground for the application of aspect theory. It is the purpose of this paper to examine only one such visionary segment of John's work, Revelation 5. After introducing this section with an aorist tense (εἶδον), the author employs a full range of tense forms (aorist, imperfect, present, and perfect) in both indicative and non-indicative moods throughout the rest of his visionary construct.¹² In particular, 5:7 has elicited a fair amount of commentary, where the author shifts from the aorist (ἦλθεν) to the perfect (εἵληφεν), with grammars and commentators providing varying (sometimes conflicting) explanations for the seeming anomalous presence of the perfect form here. It is the contention of this analysis that verbal aspect can sufficiently explain John's usage of the tenses in chapter 5, and that appeals to temporal values (Mussies) or underlying Semitic substrates (Lancellotti, Thompson) are unnecessary, raising the need for further application of verbal aspect to other sections of the Apocalypse.

I. Verbal Aspect in Revelation 5

D.E. Aune has demonstrated that the dramatic scene in Revelation 5 depicts the *investiture* of the Lamb (cf. Daniel 7; Ezekiel 1-2), where the Lamb is invested with the authority to open the scroll and divulge its contents (Rev. 5:7, 11-14).¹³ Chapter 4 introduces key visual elements which will play integral roles throughout the remaining visionary segments: God who sits on the throne, the heavenly throne/temple, the four living creatures, and the twenty-four elders. Though G.K. Beale correctly observes that structurally the "scene in ch. 4 continues uninterrupted in 5:1,"¹⁴ chapter 5 nevertheless exhibits several novel features: the scroll, the Lamb

¹² The possible presence of the sole future tense form in Revelation 5 (βασιλεύσουσιν, v. 10) depends on a text-critical problem. See below.

¹³ D.E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5* (WBC 52a; Dallas: Word, 1997) 336-8. Cf. also G.K. Beale, *Revelation* (NIGTC; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999) 350-66; S. S. Smalley, *The Revelation to John: A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Apocalypse* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2005) 112; E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (NTD 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) 39.

¹⁴ Beale, *Revelation*, 337. Cf. R.J. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993) 40.

who was slain, and the transference of the scroll from God to the Lamb. In depicting the processes that make up this visionary drama, the author utilizes a full array of tense forms in his narration.¹⁵

a. *Verbal Aspect and Prominence*

How do we account for the author's propensity to shift between the various tenses throughout this vision? As suggested above, verbal aspect is now being recognized as a theory with explanatory power to account for the verbal structure of NT Greek. The tenses, or aspects, depict the author's conception of a process, irrespective of temporal relations or *Aktionsart*. Moreover, in addition to communicating the author's conception of a process, there is increasing recognition of the role verbal aspect can play in indicating levels of prominence in a discourse. There has been much interest recently in the concept of prominence (salience, foreground, emphasis) in discourse, a notion related to information flow, or how the status of information changes throughout a discourse.¹⁶ Prominence can usefully be defined as the "*semantic and grammatical elements of discourse that serve to*

¹⁵ The correct reading for the verbal form of βασιλεύω (v. 10) is disputed, since the manuscript evidence is fairly evenly divided between the two readings βασιλεύουσιν (Ⲛ P 205 209 1854 2050 2053 2344 2351 it^{vg} vg^{ww st} cop^{sa bo} Hippolytus Cyprian) and βασιλεύουσιν (A 1006 1611 1841 2329 046 it^{ar} syr^h). Due to the fact that A seems to mistakenly read the present of βασιλεύω for the future in 20:6, the UBSGNT⁴ opts for the future as the correct reading here in 5:10 (B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [2nd edn; Stuttgart: United Bible Society, 1994] 666-7, followed by Smalley, *Revelation*, 109). However, it is more likely that the future βασιλεύουσιν is an attempt to conform 5:10 to 20:6 where the future (βασιλεύουσιν) is likely the correct reading. Cf. Charles, *Revelation*, 1: 148; H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (3rd edition; London: McMillan, 1909) 82, who opt for the present on the basis of it being the more difficult reading. Cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 362-3; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16; Tübingen: Mohr, 1970) 57.

¹⁶ For some useful studies on prominence or foregrounding in discourse see H. A. Dry, "Foregrounding: An Assessment," in S.J.J. Hwang and W.R. Merrifield (eds.), *Language in Context: Essays for Robert E. Longacre* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992) 435-50; P. Hopper, "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse," in T. Givón (ed.), *Discourse and Syntax* (New York: Academic, 1979) 213-41; idem, "Aspect between Discourse and Grammar: An Introductory Essay for this Volume," in P.J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1982) 1-18; R.E. Longacre, "Discourse Peak as a Zone of Turbulence," in J.R. Worth (ed.), *Beyond the Sentence: Discourse and Sentential Form* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1985) 81-98; S. Wallace, "Figure and Ground: The Interrelationship of Linguistic Categories," in Hopper (ed.), *Tense-Aspect*, 201-23. For NT studies see esp. K. Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids:

set aside certain subjects, ideas, or motifs of the text as more or less semantically and pragmatically significant than others.”¹⁷ In other words, rather than being flat, discourse exhibits peaks where certain entities in the discourse are set apart from others.¹⁸

Discourse analysts have suggested at least three levels of prominence in discourse.¹⁹ Drawing ultimately on the language of Gestalt psychology, linguists make a distinction between background (ground) and foreground (figure) information. “The *background* includes events of lesser importance, subsidiary procedures, secondary points, descriptions, elaborations, digressions, and minor characters or things.”²⁰ *Foreground* refers to those events or characters which are of major importance and which stand out against background material, signifying the information central to the author’s purpose (theme). In addition, a third category, *frontground*, has also been suggested to refer to those linguistic elements that stand out unexpectedly in the discourse, and upon which the readers are called to focus special attention.²¹

Though there is much work to be done on determining what linguistic phenomena signal prominence in discourse, there is general agreement that verbal aspect can have as one of its pragmatic functions the creation of discourse prominence,²² since prominence, like aspect, is concerned with different levels of perspective (background, foreground, frontground) on various elements in a given discourse. Thus, Porter conceives of the Greek

Zondervan, 1974); S.H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook* (2nd edition; Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2000) 169-213; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92-93; J.T. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (JSNTSup 136; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997) 16-122.

¹⁷ J.T. Reed and R. Reese, “Verbal Aspect, Discourse Prominence, and the Letter of Jude,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 9 (1996) 186. Italics theirs.

¹⁸ As R. Longacre states, “The very idea of discourse as a structured entity demands that some parts of discourse be more prominent than others” (“Discourse Peak,” 83).

¹⁹ For these three levels see Porter, *Idioms*, 23; J.T. Reed, “Identifying Theme in the New Testament: Insights from Discourse Analysis,” in D.A. Carson and S.E. Porter (eds.), *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics* (JSNTSup 113; Sheffield: JSOT, 1995) 77-78. Reed refers to the same three levels as “background,” “theme,” and “focus.”

²⁰ Wallace, “Figure and Ground,” 208. Italics mine.

²¹ For this function of the perfect aspect see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92. Of the perfect aspect Porter says that “it is discrete, well-defined and contoured, apparently much more so than the Present/Imperfect and certainly the Aorist tenses” (92).

²² Hopper, “Aspect and Foregrounding”; Wallace, “Figure and Ground”; Porter, *Idioms*, 23; Reed and Reese, “Verbal Aspect.”

verbal system as a coordinated system consisting of a series of semantic choices, with the aorist the least heavily marked choice and the present and perfect representing more semantically significant choices.²³ The *aorist aspect*, then, as the basic narrative tense, can be used to carry the story along and form the backbone of the narrative, or provide supporting material for the main thematic elements (background). By contrast, the *present* and *imperfect aspects*, which view the action as in progress, can function to select certain actions to dwell upon, or to draw attention to thematic material (foreground). Finally, as the more semantically marked aspect the *perfect aspect* (and *pluperfect*), which conceives of the action as a state of affairs, can function to draw attention to selected events or actions in the discourse that stand out unexpectedly (foreground). While it cannot be concluded that the aspects always function in this manner, a common pragmatic use of aspect can be to demonstrate various levels of discourse prominence.

b. *Verbal Aspect and Prominence in Revelation 5*

As observed above, past scholarly attempts to account for the shifting verb tenses in the Apocalypse's vision have commonly appealed to temporal shifts or ostensible Semitic influence. However, it seems to me that the shifting aspects in Revelation's visions provide fertile ground for the application of aspect theory in terms of how the aspects function to communicate the author's perspective on the processes and how they potentially function to structure the discourse and indicate levels of prominence. The following analysis will give particular attention to how the author's choice of verbal aspect serves to shape the discourse in Revelation 5. The ensuing comments will extend to both indicative and non-indicative verbal forms.

Beginning with the background aorist aspect, the vision in Revelation 5 commences in v. 1 with the aorist εἶδον which serves to introduce and summarize John's vision.²⁴ Its recurrence in 6:1 (εἶδον), then, functions to frame a discrete visionary segment. However, εἶδον occurs three additional times in this chapter (vv. 2, 6, 11 [εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα]) to mark a change of scene or focus in the visionary narrative.²⁵ Thus, the aorist εἶδον functions

²³) Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 89-93.

²⁴) Heinz Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (RNT; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1997) 158.

²⁵) See Aune, *Revelation*, 329. This is an instance of the ubiquitous εἶδον throughout Revelation. Aune notes that εἶδον can function in three ways in Revelation: 1) an introduction

to introduce the vision as a whole, as well as to introduce and summarize new scenes, marking out the main units of the vision (5:1, 2-5, 6-10, 11-14).²⁶ Other verbs in the aorist also serve to carry the narrative along and indicate background information. The basic dilemma in the visionary drama, that no one is found who is worthy to open the book, is indicated by aorist tenses (ἀνοῖξαι, λῦσαι, εὐρέθη, vv. 2-4); they serve to summarize these actions and move the story along. Aorist tenses also occur in vv. 5-10 with the introduction of the Lamb, where the Lamb's activity of overcoming (ἐνίκησεν, v. 5) for the purpose of opening (ἀνοῖξαι, v. 5) the book is summarized (the foregrounding perfect aspect is reserved for the actual appearance of the Lamb in v. 6, see below). The Lamb's initial approach (ἦλθεν) to the throne of God in v. 7 is also summarized using the background aorist aspect.

The response of the four living creatures and twenty four elders of falling down (ἔπεσαν), as well as the reason for their response, the Lamb taking (ἔλαβεν) the book, are both summarized in the background aorist aspect in v. 8. The content of the song they sing in vv. 9, 12 likewise recalls the fact that the Lamb is worthy to receive (λαβεῖν, recalling the aorist ἔλαβεν in v. 8) and to open (ἀνοῖξαι) the book. I will return to a discussion of the aorist forms of λαμβάνω in discussing the perfect tense in Revelation 5, since it is in v. 7 that the author, in the midst of aorists, abruptly switches to the perfect aspect. The basis (ὅτι) for the acclamation of the Lamb's worthiness is indicated in a subordinate clause with three verbs in the background aorist aspect, depicting the activities of being slain (ἐσφάγης), purchasing (ἡγόρασας), and making (ἐποίησας) the nations priests (cf. 1:6).²⁷ All three verbs function as supporting the assertion of the Lamb's worthiness, thus the suitability of the background aorist aspect. The aorist ἤκουσα then summarizes what John heard in v. 13, and two background aorists, ἔπεσαν and προσεκύνησαν, summarize the physical response of the twenty-four elders (v. 14).

Consequently, the aorist tense functions to summarize the author's vision (εἶδον), serving to introduce the vision as a whole and mark out

to a new vision narrative; 2) an introduction to a major scene within a continuing visionary narrative; 3) to focus on a new or important figure or activity within the vision (338). The usages of εἶδον in Revelation 5 conforms to usages 2 and 3 of Aune's threefold division.

²⁶ *Contra* Giesen who sees the divisions as vv. 1-5, 6-7, 8-14 (*Die Offenbarung*, 158).

²⁷ Accordingly, background material often consists of descriptions and elaborations of more thematic and prominent material. Cf. Wallace, "Figure and Ground," 208.

discrete units within it. The background aorist is also utilized, not as a temporal indicator of past time (*contra* Mussies), but to summarize key events and provide the backbone of the narrative, and to indicate supportive material, such as the reason for the Lamb's worthiness.

In contrast to the background aorist tense, the present and imperfect tenses occur throughout the vision to add descriptive color and highlight or foreground certain events and features. By utilizing the aspect which views the action in progress the author dwells on the action in more descriptive detail.²⁸ The present participle καθήμενου serves to characterize the one seated on the throne in vv. 1, 7, 13, and recalls the description in 4:2, 3, 9 also using the present participle as descriptive of God, thus establishing cohesion within the discourse. Moreover, the preaching of the angel is foregrounded when the author uses the present participle κηρύσσοντα in v. 2 to draw attention to the strong angel's speech.²⁹ Furthermore, the remaining speeches and hymns spoken/sung by the elders and living creatures are all prefaced by verbal forms in the present tense (λέγει in v. 5; ᾄδουσιν and λέγοντες in v. 9; λέγοντες in v. 12; λέγοντας in v. 13) which serves to introduce the speeches and hymns, all an integral feature of chapter 5. Thompson claims that the present participle λέγοντες/-ας in the Apocalypse is a Semitism, representing the infinitive construct לֵאמֹר.³⁰ However, as Porter has demonstrated, based on secular Greek parallels, this participle form is at best "a well-accepted Greek idiom enhanced by the LXX."³¹ The appearance of the present here can be accounted for by verbal aspect. The present tense which introduces these hymns functions to highlight these songs since they play a crucial role in liturgically interpreting the significance of the focal event of the Lamb's reception of the scroll in v. 7 (see below): it is an investiture of the Lamb with authority. Thus, the speech in v. 5 announces the main figure, the Lamb, while vv. 9-10 and

²⁸) Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 200.

²⁹) John may be drawing on Dan. 4:14 for his use of the κηρύσσοντα. However, Dan. 4:14 has ἐφώνησεν (LXX, Theod.) and εἶπεν (Theod.). MGK has λέγοντα. Moreover, the contexts of Daniel 4 and Revelation 5 are only roughly parallel. *Contra* Beale, *Revelation*, 338.

³⁰) Thompson, *Semitic Syntax*, 69-70; Beale, *Revelation*, 365. Thompson observes that the Hebrew infinitive לֵאמֹר is translated hundreds of times by λέγων/λέγοντες/λέγουσα in the LXX (*Semitic Syntax*, 70). Cf. also N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. IV: Style* (ed. J.H. Moulton; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976) 155.

³¹) Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 138-9, and the numerous parallels he cites. See Hdt. 1.88.2: ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων.

vv. 11-12 celebrate the Lamb's reception of the scroll (authority) in v. 7, the central event of the visionary narrative, a scene capped with a doxology sung by the entire cosmos in vv. 13-14.

The present tense appears twice in infinitive form, βλέπειν, paired with the aorist infinitive ἀνοίξαι in vv. 3 and 4. Mussies notes that the usual pattern in Revelation is present-aorist infinitive, but observes the reverse case (aorist-present) here in 5:3, though without offering any explanation for the apparently divergent order.³² G. Osborne contrasts the two actions in terms of a single opening of the book (aorist) followed by a careful perusal (present) of its contents.³³ Osborne's conception, however, is too dependent on an *Aktionsart* model for Greek tenses (point action vs. durative action).³⁴ Rather, aspectually the switch to the present suggests that the author chooses to draw more attention to the act of looking into the contents of the scroll as the more salient activity of the pair, with the activity of opening the book in the aorist forming the background for the act of looking into it. Three participle forms also occur in the present tense within this stretch of discourse to foreground important descriptive visionary features. In v. 6 the Lamb is described as possessing (ἔχων) seven horns,³⁵ while in v. 8 the twenty-four elders, prior to their act of singing, are described as having (ἔχοντες) lyres and golden bowls. Further, the bowls are depicted as being full (γεμούσας) of incense. In v. 10, as a result of being redeemed (v. 9) and being made kings and priests, the saints reign (βασιλεύουσιν), the primary reward for the martyrs (20:4; 22:5). Thus, the present aspect is utilized to highlight certain processes or descriptive features of main characters or elements in the vision.

³² Mussies, *Morphology*, 340.

³³ G. Osborne, *Revelation* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002) 252 n. 5.

³⁴ As the rest of Revelation makes clear, the opening of the book is not a single act of short duration. See particularly Revelation 6. This would be even more true if, narratively, according to R.J. Bauckham, the sealed scroll of chap. 5 is not opened until chap. 10, where an angel is depicted as holding the scroll (βιβλαρίδιον, v. 2) which in contrast to chap. 5 is there described as ἡνεωγμένον. The fact that the same OT *Vorlage* (Ezek. 2:8-3:3) underlies both units of text would seem to argue in favor of Bauckham's conclusion. See *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993) 243-66.

³⁵ It is possible that ἔχων functions as a finite verb. See H.C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (vol. II; London: Quaritch, 1929) 149. However, this would not obviate my point regarding the usage of the present tense.

Further, though the imperfect tense is comparatively sparse in the Apocalypse, it occurs three times in this chapter.³⁶ First, the inability of anyone to open the book is depicted in v. 3 with an imperfect tense form (ἐδύνάτο), while the seer's response to this in v. 4 is likewise depicted with an imperfect form (ἔκλαιον).³⁷ The angel then commands John not to weep in a corresponding imperfective (present) imperative, μὴ κλαῖε.³⁸ Finally, following the hymn sung by all creation in v. 13, the final responsory word from the four living creatures (Ἀμήν) is introduced by a verb of speaking in the imperfect tense (ἔλεγον). According to Porter, the imperfect tense, as a more heavily marked form than the aorist, occurs as the foreground narrative tense. Based on Porter's analysis, Aune concludes that the imperfects in vv. 3-4 serve to foreground these aspects of the episode over against the background aorists.³⁹ Thus, along with the presents, in depicting the action as in progress the imperfects contrast with the aorists to select certain activities to describe and highlight. Yet as the tense which also grammaticalizes the semantic feature of "remoteness," the imperfects are less marked than the presents, yet in contrast with the aorist they function to foreground certain processes.⁴⁰ In summary, the present and imperfect tenses, which grammaticalize aspectually imperfective action, serve to

³⁶ According to Bousset, "Der Gebrauch des Imperfektum ist nicht häufig in der Apk, aber wo dasselbe eingeführt wird, geschieht es mit Bedacht" (*Die Offenbarung*, 169). The imperfect occurs 40 times in the Apocalypse. However, 20 of these consist of the verb εἶμι which paradigmatically has no corresponding aorist form, hence it offers no significant semantic choice for the author.

³⁷ Smalley thinks that the imperfect ἔκλαιον has the effect that "it is almost as if we come across John, to discover that his great grief has long been in progress" (*Revelation*, 130). However, Smalley's comments are too dependent on a temporal and *aktionsartliche* conception of the imperfect (it has long been in progress). Moreover, the imperfect tense, while indicating an action in progress, says nothing about the length or duration of the action.

³⁸ On the significance of present prohibitions cf. J.P. Louw, "On Greek Prohibitions," *Acta Classica* 2 (1959) 43-57; J.L. Boyer, "A Classification of Imperatives: A Statistical Study," *GTJ* 8 (1987) 35-54; Dave Mathewson, "Verbal Aspect in Imperative Constructions in Pauline Ethical Injunctions," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 17 (Mayo, 1996) 21-35.

³⁹ Aune, *Revelation*, 347. See also Robertson, *Grammar*, 883.

⁴⁰ For the imperfect tense as grammaticalizing the semantic feature of remoteness from the perspective of the author, cf. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 95-96, 207. According to Porter, the imperfect, then, "is used in contexts where the action is seen as more remote [there vs. here] than the action described by the . . . Present" (207). While remoteness often suggests remote (past) time, the rapidity with which the author shifts tenses in Revelation 5 militates against seeing a temporal value in the tenses.

highlight certain events (e.g. the speech of the heavenly beings) and function to add descriptive color in the visionary narrative.⁴¹

The perfect tense form is also conspicuous throughout John's visionary portrayal, viewing different processes as existing states. The perfect tense, in semantic opposition to the aorist and present (and imperfect) tenses, serves to focus attention on certain (foreground) elements of the discourse as more well-defined and contoured, and which stand out unexpectedly within the visionary narrative. Yet the perfect aspect is not used indiscriminately, but serves to structure the discourse in significant ways. Except for its occurrence in an indicative verb in v. 7 (see below), the perfect occurs with participles which cluster around the two most significant features of the vision introduced in two of the discreet units of the vision (vv. 1, 6): the scroll and the Lamb. In v. 1 the introduction of the βιβλίον is achieved with two perfect participles which highlight the significant characteristics of the scroll: γεγραμμένον, κατεσφραγισμένον.⁴² The written contents of the scroll are sealed from human consumption, causing the subsequent dilemma in vv. 3-4 and anticipating its solution (vv. 5-7).

Perfect participles recur again in v. 6 to describe the second main visual feature, the Lamb (ἀρνίον), as in the state of standing (ἑστηκός) and being slain (ἐσφαγμένον), the latter description occurring again of the Lamb in the hymnic section in v. 12 (ἐσφαγμένον). Moreover, the eyes of the Lamb, which are identified as the seven spirits, are also described with a perfect participle (ἀπεσταλμένοι). The fact that the Lamb has already been introduced in v. 5 does not contravene its treatment as a foreground element

⁴¹ There are five instances of εἶμι occurring in an imperfective form, four of them in the present (v. 6—εἰσιν; v. 8—εἰσιν; v. 9—εἶ; v. 12—ἐστιν) and one in the imperfect (v. 11—ἦν). These forms have not been included in this discussion of verbal aspect in Revelation 5 because as Porter has argued, they paradigmatically offer no formal choices between aorist and present. Hence, they are "aspectually vague" (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 442-7).

⁴² John's perfect participles may be influenced by Dan. 12:9 and Ezek. 2:10 so that it is unnecessary to highlight an aspectual distinction here. LXX Dan. 12:9 has ἐσφραγισμένα (cf Theod. Dan. 12:9: ἐσφραγισμένοι), while John has the compound form κατεσφραγισμένον. Ezekiel also describes a book as γεγραμμένα (Ezek. 2:10). However, the perfects in Daniel and Ezekiel may themselves be marked, and thus suited John's desire to attach greater significance to this feature. Further, Ezekiel is the closest parallel here, since it, like Rev. 5, describes a separate scroll (βιβλίου) which is given by a heavenly being to the seer. Dan. 12:9 describes the book of Daniel itself, and provides a more natural parallel later to Rev. 22:10. In any case, the perfect participles in Rev. 5:1 conform with John's other uses of the perfect in chapter 5 to reveal a pattern of foregrounding certain events.

here. The Lamb who will overcome has already been mentioned in the elder's speech in v. 5 (what John *hears*), with verbs in the aorist summarizing his activity. However, though John is told about the Lamb in v. 5, the Lamb's actual *appearance* is delayed until vv. 6-7; now with the appearance of the Lamb (what John *sees*) the perfect tense is utilized to foreground the main character of the vision, the Lamb.⁴³ The function of the perfect participles, then, is to foreground important features of the elements/characters that are introduced for the first time and play the most significant role in chapter 5: the scroll and the Lamb. Scholars have typically perceived the worthiness of the Lamb to open the scroll to be the "centre de la présente vision."⁴⁴ According to Aune, "The sealed scroll and the Lamb constitute the narrative focus of Rev. 5."⁴⁵ This observation receives linguistic corroboration from the author's use of the foreground perfect aspect to introduce and characterize these paired features of the visionary narrative.

c. *The Perfect εἴληφεν in 5:7*

The occurrence of the perfect aspect of εἴληφεν in v. 7 has been the subject of some discussion and requires extended comment.⁴⁶ Thompson thinks that it is probably the result of Semitic influence, though he gives no rationale for this.⁴⁷ Mussies, followed by a number of other commentators and grammarians, endorses the view that εἴληφεν purportedly constitutes an example of what grammarians commonly label an "aoristic perfect," that is, a perfect tense in narrative whose perfective force has been significantly

⁴³ A noted feature of Revelation is the juxtaposition of the paired "heard-saw" throughout. Cf. particularly Revelation 7. Usually this dialectic is understood in terms of the *hearing* interpreting and giving significance to the *seeing*. Cf. J.L. Resseguie, *Revelation Unsealed: A Narrative Critical Approach to John's Apocalypse* (Biblical Interpretation Series 32; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 33-37. However, while this is often true, the opposite appears to be the case at least here in Revelation 5: based on verbal aspect, the foregrounding perfect participles (ἐσθηκός, ἐσφαγμένον) mark out "what was seen" (the slain Lamb) as the more salient element of the see/hear pairing.

⁴⁴ P. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (CNT XIV; Lausanne: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1981) 95. Prigent understands the whole scene as the answer to the question "Qui est digne d'ouvrir...?"

⁴⁵ Aune, *Revelation*, 338. From a literary-critical perspective, see Resseguie, *Revelation Unsealed*, 39.

⁴⁶ Cf. also εἴληφεν/-ας in 3:3; 8:5; 11:17.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Semitic Syntax*, 44.

diminished or neutralized.⁴⁸ In this case the perfect functions as a “simple narrative tense to report past occurrences without attention paid to the present consequences.”⁴⁹ At least three reasons exist as to why scholars think that this is the case: 1) the aorist and perfect tense forms were apparently being confused by this time (lack of reduplication; similarity of endings [cf.—κάν]);⁵⁰ 2) the perfect tense is utilized in tandem with the aorists within the same contextual framework (temporal), suggesting similarity of meaning; 3) a semantic distinction between the aorist and perfect tense is imperceptible in idiomatic English translation.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the following observations mitigate the force of these arguments. First, though εἴληφεν could be the result of a confusion of aorist and perfect forms, the fact that John utilizes the aorist form of λαμβάνω three times in 5:8, 9, 12 (ἔλαβεν, λαβεῖν), as well as elsewhere in Revelation (3:11; 4:11; 6:4; 10:8, 9, 10; 17:12; 18:4; 20:4; 22:17), suggests that the author uses the perfect form intentionally here, making confusion with the aorist improbable.⁵² Second, the usage of the perfect alongside aorist tenses may just as easily indicate a semantic distinction rather than similarity in meaning; the fact that both aspects are used in identical temporal contexts does not justify the conclusion that they are semantically identical. Finally, just because an English translation (or any other target language) fails to distinguish the perfect tense in translation does not justify the conclusion that the semantic force of the perfect has been diminished or neutralized.⁵³

⁴⁸ Mussies, *Morphology*, 348; Charles, *Revelation*, 1: 144; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung*, 55 (“aoristisch gebrauchtes Perfekt”); Beale, *Revelation*, 357. Cf. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 579; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 303; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963) 97-98; J.H. Moulton, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament. Vol. I: Prolegomena* (3rd edn; ed. J.H. Moulton; Edinburgh; T & T Clark, 1908) 145.

⁴⁹ Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 299-300. Cf. Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, 177 (perfect for aorist); Robertson, *Grammar*, 898 (the “aoristic” present perfect, a confusing combination of three “tense” labels); Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 578-9 (aoristic perfect).

⁵⁰ Mussies, *Morphology*, 348; cf. Turner, *Syntax*, 69, who notes that “often the perfect stem assumes aoristic endings in the papyri and NT—a disguise which helped it survive a little longer.” For further discussion see Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 140-7.

⁵¹ See the (awkward-sounding) attempt of Swete, *Apocalypse*, 78: “And I saw him go (aor.), and now he has taken [the book] out of the hand of him who sits on the throne.”

⁵² For analysis of the potential “confusion” of the perfect and aorist tense see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 271-3. Robertson correctly denies that εἴληφεν here is the equivalent of ἔλαβεν (*Grammar*, 897). *Contra* Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 145.

⁵³ “Failure to make a translational distinction does not minimize semantic value or contrast” (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 265). Cf. also some of the important qualifications in McKay,

Several others assert that the author's use of the perfect in 5:7 is indeed deliberate. Following H.B. Swete, S.S. Smalley, in his recent commentary on the Greek text of Revelation, suggests that the perfect in 5:7 may indicate realistic action, apparently due to an assumed rhetorical temporal transfer of the presumed present results of the perfect tense.⁵⁴ This seems also to be the approach of A. T. Robertson who postulates that 5:7 is an example of a "Dramatic Historical Present Perfect," which indicates "an action completed in the past . . . conceived in terms of the present time for the sake of vividness."⁵⁵ This construal of the perfect, however, is overly dependent on temporal notions and requires postulating an otherwise unspecified temporal shift. H. Giesen proposes that εἴληφεν indicates that the book should be understood "als bleibende Gabe."⁵⁶ Giesen's conception of the perfect as indicating "bleibende Gabe," however, is likewise overly dependent on a temporal understanding of the perfect tense: a *past* action with ongoing results in the *present*. Problematic for both of these explanations is that, as suggested above, the perfect aspect grammaticalizes the conception of the process as a state of affairs, but does not indicate whether the state is temporally perpetuated (abiding) or not.

A more plausible assessment is to analyze the perfect εἴληφεν in light of verbal aspect and its potential function within this discourse, especially in relation to the other aspects. As the foreground aspect the perfect εἴληφεν functions here to focus attention on the process of the reception of the

Syntax, 28-29. It appears that most understandings of the perfect tense in narrative contexts are influenced by a predominantly time-based understanding of the perfect tense—past action with present ongoing results. Cf. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 112-20 (who thinks that the perfect is a combination of tense, aspect and *Aktionsart*); Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, 175-6. However, as seen above the Greek tenses do not grammaticalize absolute time, but the author's conception of a process. The perfect tense grammaticalizes the author's conception of the process as a state of affairs or existing results, and can occur within a variety of temporal contexts. Cf. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 245-81; idem, *Idioms*, 40-42; K.L. McKay, "On the Perfect and Other Aspects in NT Greek," *NovT* 23 (1981) 289-329; idem, "On the Perfect and Other Aspects in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 27 (1980) 23-49.

⁵⁴ Smalley, *Revelation*, 133; cf. Swete, *Apocalypse*, 78.

⁵⁵ Robertson, *Grammar*, 896 (notice the awkward combination of historical, present, and perfect).

⁵⁶ Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 169; cf. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung*, 259: "Das Perf. steht hier nach dem vorhergehenden Aor. mit Absicht. Christus empfängt die Offenbarung der Zukunftsgeheimnisse als *bleibenden Besitz*." Italics mine.

scroll. As most treatments of Revelation 5 almost intuitively recognize, the center of the action seems to be the Lamb's reception of the scroll (authority) from the one seated on the throne. This assessment receives linguistic justification in the author's usage of verbal aspect. At the juncture where the crucial transition takes place, the author chooses the foreground perfect aspect εἴληφεν to highlight the transfer of the scroll from the hand of God to the Lamb as the central narrative event (the approach to the throne [ἦλθεν] is the background feature to this event).⁵⁷ Once the transition occurs, the author then switches back to the background aorist tense of the same verb ἔλαβεν (v. 8) and βάλειν (vv. 9, 12) to recall and summarize what has taken place.⁵⁸ As Aune states, "the act of 'taking' or 'reception' (εἴληφεν) of the scroll from the right hand of God (v. 7) signifies the 'reception' (λάβειν) of the honors mentioned in v. 12: power, wealth, wisdom, might, honor, glory, and praise."⁵⁹ Thus, the focal activity of the visionary discourse is marked with the foregrounding perfect aspect in v. 7, an event which is subsequently celebrated liturgically in vv. 9-14. This also confirms linguistically Aune's assessment of chapter 5 as "the investiture of the Lamb."

In summary, in contrast to the aorist and present aspects the perfect aspect performs an important discourse function of foregrounding new and discrete elements within the discourse which are introduced for the first time and which play a key role in the vision: the sealed book and the slain lamb. The perfect aspect also serves to highlight the activity which is central to the narrative: the transfer of the book from the hand of the one who sits on the throne to the Lamb; indeed it is this transfer of the book (authority) to the Lamb which sets the stage for the liturgical celebration of this act in the remainder of the vision.

⁵⁷ Aune is the only commentary I have found subsequent to the works of Porter and Fanning who seems to recognize this: "The center of the action is highlighted by using the perfect εἴληφεν, 'took,' which contrasts with the aorist, the characteristic background tense used in narrative" (*Revelation*, 354). However, Aune does not explain the perfect in relationship to the other tenses (e.g. the present), and he fails to explain the subsequent shift back to the aorist in the following verses.

⁵⁸ As Swete states, "The ordinary aorist of narration is resumed" (*Apocalypse*, 79), though he does not explain the function of this resumption with the aorist tense in contrast to the perfect.

⁵⁹ Aune, *Revelation*, 336.

II. Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to demonstrate that the shifting of verbal aspects in Revelation 5, far from being “regellos,” confusing, or inexplicable, plays an integral role in structuring the visionary segment. I have attempted to demonstrate that the author shifts aspects throughout his visionary narrative, not to signal temporal shifts which reflect his visionary experience (Mussies), nor because of Semitic intervention (Thompson), but to indicate his perspective on the processes and to signal discourse prominence. Therefore, the aorist aspect (εἶδον) is utilized to introduce and summarize the vision as a whole and to mark out discrete units within the vision. Within each unit the aorist serves to background various features of the vision as the basic narrative tense and to carry the narrative along. By contrast, within each unit the present and imperfect aspects, against the backdrop of the aorist, function to highlight particular actions that the author wants to dwell on (looking into the scroll; reigning) and which add descriptive color to the vision (the one seated on the throne; the Lamb having seven eyes; the elders having gold bowls which are full of incense) as well as to introduce the liturgical speeches of the various heavenly creatures which effectively serve to interpret the significance of the Lamb’s reception of the scroll. The perfect aspect, then, is reserved for elements of the vision that stand out unexpectedly—the book which is written on and sealed; the Lamb who stands and was slain and whose eyes are the seven spirits sent out into the earth. The perfect aspect is also reserved to highlight the most significant and pivotal activity in the vision—the transfer (εἵληφεν) of the scroll (authority) from the hand of God to the Lamb (v. 7) which is celebrated liturgically in vv. 9-12.

Two important conclusions can briefly be drawn more broadly from the preceding analysis of verbal aspect in Revelation 5. First, at least for Revelation 5, verbal aspect functions in a similar way as elsewhere in the NT.⁶⁰ According to Mussies (see above), the shifting tenses should be construed temporally, as a reflection of the apocalyptic genre and the seer’s experience.⁶¹ However, first, the pattern of tenses in Revelation 5 does not easily conform to the pattern discerned by Mussies, where the aorist tense commences the vision, followed by presents, and then concluding with future

⁶⁰) For comprehensive discussions on the presence and function of aspect throughout the NT see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*; McKay, *New Syntax*.

⁶¹) Mussies, *Morphology*, 340.

tense forms. As seen above, the various tenses appear distributed throughout the entirety of the vision. Second, due the manner in which the author shifts tenses throughout the vision, it is highly doubtful that the readers are meant to so rapidly shift temporal spheres of reference.⁶² In this visionary segment of the Apocalypse, rather than indicating time or *Aktionsart*, verbal aspect functions to depict the author's perspective on the action and to signal prominence in the discourse.⁶³ More work remains to be done on other visionary segments in Revelation which shift aspects to demonstrate how aspect serves to indicate the author's conception of processes, and to show how aspect structures discourse. But at least for Revelation 5, the Greek verb tenses of this visionary segment comport well with the semantics of the Greek verbal system in terms of verbal aspect.

Second, the results of this study also make a modest contribution to the debate regarding the nature of Revelation's Greek. The conclusions from the preceding analysis suggest that at least for Revelation 5 it is unnecessary to postulate an underlying Semitic substructure to account for John's tense shifts (e.g. Charles, Lancellotti, Thompson). When the Greek tenses in John's visionary depictions are no longer evaluated from a temporal perspective, but are rather construed as indicating verbal aspect, it is no longer necessary to appeal to Semitic intervention to account for the ostensible "irregularities" in tense usage. Thompson regards the shifting tenses in Revelation as "inexplicable from a Greek viewpoint,"⁶⁴ by which he must mean a strictly "temporal" viewpoint. But as argued above, John's usage of verbal aspect in chapter 5 coheres with what is found elsewhere in the NT in depicting the author's perspective on a process and at times establishing prominence within the discourse. And particularly in narrative, such tense shifts are not uncommon elsewhere in the NT.⁶⁵ Though

⁶² Cf. Porter, *Idioms*, 30.

⁶³ I am not claiming that aspect always signals levels of discourse prominence in the NT or in Revelation in particular. Discourse prominence is a pragmatic function of verbal aspect, not a semantic property of the tense endings themselves. As J.T. Reed states, "the use of verbal aspect to signal prominence... is a secondary role... and thus a discourse function, not a morphological function of Greek grammar" (*Discourse Analysis of Philipians*, 114).

⁶⁴ Thompson, *Semitic Syntax*, 49.

⁶⁵ Cf. Mark 2:1-12; 5:21-43; 6:1-5; John 1:1-8; 20:1-10. Thompson states that while shifting tenses can be found elsewhere in the NT, they are not found to the extent that they are in the Apocalypse (*Semitic Syntax*, 47). However, the fact remains that shifting tenses within the same temporal frame of reference is a phenomenon present elsewhere in the NT,

further analysis is required on other visionary segments, given the above analysis, this would appear to substantiate Porter's claim that the utilization of the verbal system in the Apocalypse falls well "within the range of possible registers of Greek usage of the 1st century."⁶⁶ Thus, for Revelation 5 the burden of proof lies with those who would postulate Semitic influence in John's shifting of verb tenses.⁶⁷ I have tried to show that verbal aspect plays a more important role in structuring the visionary segment as a whole.

particularly in narrative literature. The shifting that takes place in the Apocalypse, then, is one of degree and not kind.

⁶⁶ Porter, "Language of the Apocalypse," 603.

⁶⁷ Porter, "Language of the Apocalypse," 587: "The burden of proof must rest upon those arguing for a Semitic source to prove that a particular construction is impossible in the NT or at least highly unlikely to occur as often as it does."

P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Three Fragments Identified. A Correction

Peter M. Head^a, Dale M. Wheeler^b and Wieland Willker^c

^a Cambridge; ^b Portland, Oregon; ^c Bremen

In an earlier issue of this journal Head published a short paper proposing new identifications for three small fragments of P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶).¹ In that paper Head proposed two identifications (fragment 9 = John 18:31, 36; fragment 8 = John 19:10, 14) which he, and we, regarded as virtually certain; and a third identification (fragment 3 = John 21:5, 7-8) which could not be demonstrated to the same level of confidence, but which he regarded, mistakenly as we shall see, as “extremely probable”. The purpose of this short paper is to demonstrate that the third identification is only partly correct and to offer a revision to Head’s third identification.²

The original transcript and identification was as follows:³

3. Fragment 3 (third from left in top row of plate 151)

Recto (→):

ις [trace of bar above]

¹ Peter M. Head, “P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Three Fragments Identified”, *NovT* 47 (2005) 105-108. Photographs of the fragments were published in V. Martin & J.W.B. Barns, *Papyrus Bodmer II. Supplément. Evangile de Jean chap. 14-21* (Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1962) plates 151 & 152. They are referred to using a system outlined in K. Aland, “Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III”, *NTS* 20 (1974) 357-81, esp. 376-81.

² Willker deserves credit for a thorough study of the physical circumstances of the proposed identification which problematised the proposed identification (in a paper distributed on July 27, 2005 on the Textual Criticism email discussion group). Wheeler suggested the alternative proposal which is advanced here (28th June 2005). Head humbled himself before the evidence, consolidated the alternative proposal and drafted this note, which has subsequently been worked on by all three.

³ Reproducing the material from Head, “P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Three Fragments Identified”, 107.

αια [first letter has crossbar: τ γ π?]

Verso (↑):

..
ιστ
..

Recto [page 151, →] (John 21:5)

line 3 ουν αυτοις] ις [παιδι]α μ[η τι προς
line 4 φαγιον εχε]ται α[πεκρι]θησ[αν αυ
line 5 τω ου ο δε ε]ι[πε]ν αυ[το]ις β[αλετε

Verso [page 152, ↑] (John 21:7-8)

line 2 σα]το' [ην γαρ] γυ[μνος και εβα
line 3 λεν ε]α[υ]τον εις τ[ην θαλασ
line 4 σαν οι δε] αλλ[οι] μ[αθεται τω πλοι

In the article Head noted some of the difficulties inherent in the identification, including the problems that were not solved in his discussion: “the line match between verso and recto is not absolutely clear cut, and the fragment does not adjoin an already extant portion of the manuscript”. In attempting to reconstruct visually and physically the relationship between the existing portions of P⁶⁶ and the proposed placing of the fragment Willker showed that the alignment was impossible, requiring the recto to be only one or two letters distant from the existing portion of the text, while the verso was required to be five or six letters distant from the corresponding extant text on the other side: “the fragment has to be shifted horizontally to fit both recto and verso. The required space is just too different to make this fit in any way.”⁴

So a new identification is now proposed which resolves the physical problem raised (but not solved) in the previous proposal; but is consistent with the positive arguments advanced in the previous paper, that is, the close match in appearance between the fragment and the extant material, the layout of εις την in line 3 of the verso. The verso remains as proposed,

⁴) Willker (July 27, 2005). Willker also argued that the proposed *alpha* in line 4 was not an *alpha*.

the recto shifts up a line and a few letters to the right, resulting in a physical alignment which is consistently positioned for both verso and recto.

Recto [page 151, →] (John 21:4-5)

line 2 οι μαθηται οτι] $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ [εσ]τιν λε[γει
 line 3 ουν αυτοις $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$] παιδ[ι]α μ[η] τι προς
 line 4 φαγιον εχεται απε]κ[ρι]θησ[αν αυ

This offers new proposals for several uncertain letters. In line 3 the letter preceding αι is uncertain. There is a cross bar and so it could be either *gamma*, *pi*, or *tau* (or unusually formed, but not impossible *upsilon*, *kappa* or *theta*). The initial proposal had suggested a *tau*, but Wheeler suggested that the cross bars of *pi* tend to hit the middle of the next letter, as here; and a very similar pattern is extant in the two other occasions in which παιδιον occurs in P⁶⁶ (John 4:49; 16:21). For the letter following αι on line 3 the earlier proposed *alpha* was not widely regarded as the best solution (the most normal shape of the *alpha* in P⁶⁶ is generally more rounded at the lower left hand). Of the other possible fits for the extant portion we considered a more straightforward diagonal (as in *lamda* or *chi*), but the lower left diagonals of *lamda* are generally short and we might expect to see more of the main diagonal; the lower left diagonals of *chis* are generally lower and at a steeper angle than this stroke. This leaves the option of an open but angled shape, i.e. a *delta* (following Wheeler), seems a good fit on angle and for the newly proposed identification, although the bottom horizontal stroke is not clearly visible.⁵ The upper trace of a letter in the third line of the fragment, line 5 of the reconstruction, is easily compatible with the *kappa*.

This proposed identification and transcription of the recto of this fragment thus enjoys the advantages of correct physical positioning of the fragment (both verso and recto) and clear matches between all the ink traces in the fragment and the identifiable letters in the text of John 21:4-5, and is thus an improvement on that which was previously proposed in this journal. The verso remains as originally proposed (see also above).

⁵ The scribe of P⁶⁶ generally elevates his *deltas* about half way up the previous letter (unless the *delta* starts a line), but he places his *lambdas* on the base line in almost every case (Wheeler).

Book Reviews

Jostein Ådna (Hrsg.), *The Formation of the Early Church* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), XII + 451 pp., € 99, ISBN 3-16-148561-0 (WUNT 183).

Die vorliegenden Aufsätze gehen zurück auf die 7. *Nordic New Testament Conference*, die im Juni 2003 in Stavanger stattfand. Vierzehn Beiträge widmen sich verschiedenen Aspekten der Entstehung des Urchristentums. Vom Herausgeber stammt der einführende Aufsatz "The Formation-of the Early Church—an Introduction" (1-16), der die einzelnen Teile und Beiträge des Bandes in unterschiedlicher Länge vorstellt.

Der *erste Teil* behandelt das Verhältnis von Christen und Juden, das sog. "Parting-of-the-Ways"-und-die-Entwicklung-neuer-Identitäten-(17-90). M. Tellbe untersucht die Bedeutung "The Temple Tax as a Pre-70 CE Identity Marker" (19-44, zur Tempelsteuer im ersten vor- und nachchristl. Jh. S. 20-25) und welche Bedeutung sie für die ersten Christen (noch) hatte (Mt 17:24-27; Röm 13:1-10; 1 Petr 2:4-17; S.-26-41). In "At the End of the Road—Reflections on a Popular Scholarly Metaphor" (45-72) diskutiert A.K. Petersen die für den Bruch zwischen Frühjudentum und Urchristentum häufig verwandte Metapher des "parting of the ways". Nach Beschreibung und Würdigung ("how the model of conceiving the gradual differentiation and separation between Judaism and Christianity in terms of the road metaphor has stimulated and been beneficial to much scholarship", 2) zeigt Petersen, dass es bis ins sechste Jh. hinein einen lebhaften Austausch zwischen Juden und Juden- und Heidenchristen gegeben hat. Kritik und Verwerfung des Judentums und jüdischer Praktiken (z. B. bei Ignatius, in verschiedenen Konzilsbeschlüssen und in den Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomus von 386/87) sind nicht als Zeugnisse eines bereits vollzogenen Bruchs zu werten, sondern: "On the contrary, data of this kind is ample evidence that elitist Gentile Christian groups saw a reason to react strongly against interaction and relationship between Christians and Jews that was still going on." Petersen spricht hier von "Gentile Christian 'Anti-Judaism' as an *Intra Muros* Phenomenon" (65-71). Die beliebte Metapher ist abzulehnen, "because it turns out to be inadequate

in reflecting the diverse and multiple varying realities of relationships, co-existence and encounters as well as numerous partings of ways between different Jews and Christians long after 150 A. D.” (3, vgl. Zusammenfassung S. 71f).

H. Stenström verwendet für die Darstellung der 144.000 in Offenbarung 14:1-5 als männliche Jungfrauen eine “gender construction” (“theoretical and methodological aspects of recent feminist biblical scholarship, discussing both its critical and constructive task”, 3; Behandlung der Stelle auf S. 85-89) und zeigt deren möglichen Beitrag zum Verständnis des Urchristentums (“New Voices in Biblical Exegesis—New Views on the Formation of the Church” (73-90). Stenström schließt: “Thus, the ideal Christians are depicted certainly as males, but at the same time as following the ideals of the good woman—the logic of the text requires that they are male virgins” (88). Bei allem Verständnis für die Methodenproblematik unserer Wissenschaft wünscht man sich weniger Allgemeinplätze, sondern den detaillierten Nachweis der Fruchtbarkeit einzelner Methoden für die historische Auslegung von Einzeltexten und konkrete Fragestellungen, wie sie die Ausrichtung dieses Bandes voraussetzt.

Der *zweite Teil* gilt den “Developments of and Contacts between Early Communities and Authority and Power Structures within them as Reflected in the New Testament” (93-207). J.M. Asgeirsson beleuchtet “Complex and Community: From the Prophets of Q to the Scribe(s) of St. Matthew or Vice Versa” (93-122, “The Matthean group is likely to be compared with contemporary voluntary associations like collegia or philosophiai, because this gospel contains an ‘agenda’ and such regulations as an established community of this kind is in need of”, 4). R. Hvalvik widmet sich “All Those Who in Every Place Call on the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ: The Unity of the Pauline Churches” (123-143). Es geht dabei um die Kontakte und Beziehungen zwischen den Gemeinden, die von Paulus und seinen Mitarbeitern gegründet wurden. Paulus selbst wollte ein Bewusstsein für die Einheit unter seinen Gemeinden schaffen. Dies geschah durch die Erwähnung anderer Gemeinden in den Briefen (ein “ecumenical horizon”, 126-133), durch den Verweis auf eine “ökumenische Tradition”, die von allen Gemeinden geglaubt wurde (“The ‘ecumenical’ character of Paul’s letters”, 133-140) sowie durch die Weitergabe von Grüßen von anderen Gemeinden an die Adressaten (“Direct contact between churches”, 140-43). Zu fragen wäre auch, welche Hinweise andere ntl. Briefe enthalten, z. B. an mehrere Gemeinden gerichtete Briefe.

Hvalvik's Einsichten sind auch von Bedeutung für die neuere Diskussion der Parallelen zwischen paulinischen Missionsgemeinden und antiken Vereinen. Die Vorstellung der Einheit und wechselseitigen Verbindung der paulinischen Gemeinden als einer der Unterschiede zu den antiken Vereinen wird u. a. von R. Ascough in Frage gestellt; z. B. in "Voluntary Associations and the Formation of Pauline Christian Communities: Overcoming the Objections", in A. Gutsfeld, D.-A. Koch (Hrsg.), *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, STAC 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 149-83. Nach ihm bestand die Einheit lediglich in der Person des Paulus und seiner Mitarbeiter (vgl. meine Rez. des erwähnten Bandes in NT, im Druck, und dort den Beitrag von D.-A. Koch, D. Schinkel, "Die Frage nach den Vereinen in der Geistes- und Theologiegeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des zeitgenössischen Vereinswesens und der 'Wende' in der protestantischen Theologie nach 1918", (129-148) 148). Hvalvik gelingt es aufzuzeigen, dass es direkte Beziehungen ("an ecumenical character that goes beyond the mere relationship between author and the receiver of each individual letter", 5) zwischen den Gemeinden gab. Dies zeigt sich daran, dass die Briefe des Paulus keine Privatschreiben waren, sondern zur Verbreitung weit über die angeschriebene Gemeinde hinaus bestimmt waren. Ferner, "Paul stimulated contacts between the communities when he travelled between them and wrote his letters from various locations" (5). Als drittes führt Hvalvik die paulinische Kollektenaktion an, mit der Paulus alle seine Gemeinden zu einer gemeinsamen Gabe an die Muttergemeinde in Jerusalem motivieren wollte. Sie sollte durch eine Delegation überreicht werden, die aus den Repräsentanten verschiedener Gemeinden bestand. Freilich stehen hinter diesen Faktoren Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter. Aber gab es auch Kontakte ohne diese "paulinische" Klammer? Sind sie zu erwarten? Darf man mit ihrem schriftlichen Niederschlag im *Corpus Paulinum* rechnen?

H. Kvalbein schreibt über "The Authorization of Peter in Matthew 16:17-19: A Reconsideration of the Power to Bind-and-Loose"-(145-147; vgl. dazu jetzt auch M. Hengel, *Der unterschätzte Petrus: Zwei Studien*; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006, 1-44). Nach Kvalbein geht es nicht individuell um die Person des Petrus, sondern um ihn als Sprecher des Jüngerkreises. Am verbreiteten Verständnis von V. 19 (156-166) kritisiert Kvalbein "the dominant interpretation of the authorization to bind and to loose as the granting to Peter of the authority to make binding halakhic decisions on what is prohibited and permitted, as in rabbinic tradition,

and interprets instead the binding and loosing to be the authority to forgive and retain sins, as in Matt 18.18 and as validated by the Gospel of Matthew as a whole" (6). Die Vorrangsstellung des Petrus besteht allein darin, dass er als erster Jesus als den Messias bekennt. Der Aufsatz endet mit einem Exkurs zum Thema "Leadership Structures in the Church in Matthew's Gospel" (169-172).

Nach L. Fatum ("Christ Domesticated: The Household Theology of the Pastorals as Political Strategy", 175-207) erscheint der Autor der Pastoralbriefe als Befürworter sozialer und politischer Anpassung: "The immediate goal is to establish an outwardly recognisable household order for the whole church in accordance with the *paterfamilias* institution of the Graeco-Roman social order and culture in order to achieve recognition for the church as an institution characterised by order and a well-organised leadership" (6). Leider fehlt die Auseinandersetzung mit dem ICC Kommentar von I. H. Marshall (1999) und der Monographie von P.H. Towner, *The Goal of Our Instruction: The Structure of Theology and Ethics in the Pastoral Epistles*, JSNT.SS 34, Sheffield: JSOT, 1989; vgl. auch dessen Kommentar, NICNT, 2006.

Im *dritten Teil* geht es um verschiedene Fragen zum Kanon des Neuen Testaments (211-281). O. Leppä diskutiert "Debates within the New Testament Canon" (211-237). A. Marjanen schreibt über das Verhältnis von "Montanism and the Formation of the New Testament Canon" (239-263, "whether, and in what ways, the Montanists' favourable reception of certain early Christian writings affected their possibility of gaining canonical status", 9). Von P. Luomanen stammt der Beitrag "On the Fringes of Canon: Eusebius' View of the 'Gospel of the Hebrews' (265-281).

Teil vier umreißt die frühen Entwicklungen jenseits des Neuen Testaments (285-408). R. Aasgaard beleuchtet "Brothers and Sisters in the Faith: Christian Siblingship as an Ecclesiological Mirror in the First Two Centuries" (285-316, "what can be inferred from the use of the ecclesiological motif of Christians as siblings with regard to the church's self-understanding and its relationship to its environment", 11). M. Isacson thematisiert "Follow Your Bishop! Rhetorical Strategies in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch" (317-340). M. Myllykoski erhellt "Wild Beasts and Rabid Dogs: The Riddle of the Heretics in the Letters of Ignatius" (341-377). O.M. Bakke gibt einen Überblick über "The Episcopal Ministry and the Unity of the Church from the Apostolic Fathers to Cyprian" (379-408). Verschiedene Register (Quellen, Autoren, Sachen und Namen) beenden den hervorragend produzierten Band (409-51).

Mit dem Erscheinen der teils anregenden Aufsätze verbindet der Herausgeber die Hoffnung, "that this book will stimulate debate and further work among biblical and patristic scholars on different aspects of the topic 'the Formation of the Early Church', and that in this work also insights will be gained which can be helpful and inspiring in responding to contemporary formative challenges which churches all over the world are facing at the beginning of the 21st century". Zur Erfüllung beider Wünsche hat der Band Potential. Ferner schreibt Ådna: "... the volume will hopefully also be appreciated for offering to the scholarly world some fresh impressions of ongoing New Testament and-patristic-research-in the Scandinavian-Nordic corner of the-world" (16).

Christoph Stenschke

Jörg Frey and Udo Schnelle (Hrsg.), *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), ix + 799 pp., € 144, ISBN 3-16-148 303-0 (= WUNT 175).

Der vorliegende umfangreiche Sammelband will "in Überblicken und exemplarischen Einzelstudien zu einer Sichtung der Fragestellungen, einer Bestimmung der verschiedenen 'Kontexte' und einer Erarbeitung von Lösungsmodellen zum traditions- und religionsgeschichtl. Hintergrund des JohEv beitragen" (Vorwort), da die angemessene historische und theologische Einordnung des JohEv umstritten ist. Der Band geht zurück auf eine Arbeitstagung der Forschungskolloquien der Evangelisch-theologischen Fakultäten der Universitäten München und Halle, die im November 2001 stattfand. Dabei wurde die "stärker auf die hellenistischen Kontexte hin konzentrierte Arbeit in Halle mit der mehr an Bezügen zum antiken Judentum ausgerichteten Arbeit in München" verbunden, in der Überzeugung, dass "nur in einem integrativen Ansatz die komplexen traditions- und religionsgeschichtl. Probleme des vierten Evangeliums einer text- und sachgemäßen Lösung zugeführt werden können" (Vorwort). Die folgenden Fragen werden aufgegriffen:

Wie "hellenistisch" und wie "jüdisch" ist dieses Evangelium? In welcher Beziehung steht es zu den anderen frühchristl. Traditionskreisen, und was kann die frühe Rezeptionsgeschichte zur Frage nach der Stellung dieses Evangelium im ntl. Traditionsspektrum beitragen? Lassen sich diese komplexen Fragen vielleicht überhaupt nicht "generell", sondern nur an konkreten Einzelbeispielen, an einzelnen Motiven und Bezügen beantworten? (Vorwort)

Die *Einführung* beginnt mit J. Freys Aufsatz "Auf der Suche nach dem Kontext des vierten Evangeliums: Eine forschungsgeschichtl. Einführung" (3-45). Im ersten Teil (4-35) handelt Frey "Johannes und die Forschungsgeschichte" unter folgenden Überschriften ab: "Altkirchliche Ansätze: Irenäus und die Aloger; Religionsgeschichtl. Ansätze in den Anfängen der neuzeitl. Forschung; Von der christl. Gnosis zum alexandrinischen Hellenismus: die Diskussion im 19. Jh. von Baur bis Holtzmann und Heitmüller; Von Philo zum 'gnostischen Erlösermythos: die religions- und mythologieggeschichtl. Deutung zwischen Bousset und Bultmann; Die Kontextualisierung im palästinischen Judentum—eine Außenseiterposition; Die religionsgeschichtl. Einordnung des JohEv im Kontext neuer

Quellenfunde nach 1945: Qumran, Nag Hammadi und die Folgen; Probleme und Perspektiven". Angesichts der Forschung schließt Frey:

Es kann also nicht mehr in erster Linie darum gehen, *genealogisch* fremdreligiöse Einflüsse in der christl. Überlieferung aufzuzeigen oder solche Einflüsse in apologischer Weise zu bestreiten. Die "Herkunft" bestimmter Motive und Vorstellungen läßt sich in vielen Fällen nicht eindeutig klären. Angemessener scheint es hingegen, die erhobenen Parallelen zunächst als *Analogien* zu betrachten und nicht vorschnell genealogisch auszuwerten. In diesem Verständnis tragen sie dazu bei, das Profil der ntl. Texte und der durch sie ausgelösten Kommunikation zu verstehen, auch wenn sich aus ihnen keine Abhängigkeit erschließen läßt. So dient die Ausleuchtung der möglichen Kontexte eines Textes wie des JohEv letztlich dem profilierten Verständnis seiner Intention und seiner Rezeptionsmöglichkeiten. Daraus können sich Schlussfolgerungen im Blick auf den historischen Ort des Textes oder die Herkunft und das "kulturelle Inventar" seines Autors ergeben. Aber auch wo dies nicht möglich ist, bieten die Vergleichstexte Einblicke in die Welt des Autors und seiner ersten Leser, Hinweise auf die Vorstellungen, die diese mit dem überlieferten Text verbinden konnten, und auf die Herausforderung, die der Text in seinem ursprünglichen kommunikativen Umfeld bedeutete (34).

Anschließend beschreibt Frey die Suche nach dem "innerchristl." Standort des JohEv und die sich dabei ergebenden Probleme und Perspektiven. Abschließend führt er knapp in die Beiträge des Bandes ein (44f). In die "Historische Anschlussfähigkeit: Zum hermeneutischen Horizont von Geschichts- und Traditionsbildung" (47-78) fordert U. Schnelle, dass die ntl. Theologie als Disziplin eine Hermeneutik entwickeln muss, "die aufzeigt, wie die ntl. Überlieferungen historisch angeeignet werden können, ohne die bindende Kraft ihres Wahrheitsgehaltes zu zerstören" (47). Schnelle reflektiert über das Entstehen von Geschichte, über Geschichte als Sinnbildung, Sinn- und Traditionsbildung durch Erzählen und die Anschlussfähigkeit der paulinischen und johanneischen Sinnbildung. "Indem Paulus und Johannes die Geschichte des Jesus Christus in bestimmter Weise erzählen und deuten, schreiben sie Geschichte und konstruieren eine eigene neue religiöse Welt. Dabei waren sie eingebunden in vielfältige kulturelle Kontexte, die durch ihre Herkunft, ihr aktuelles Wirkungsfeld, ihre Rezipienten und die religiös-philosophischen Debatten der Zeit bestimmt waren" (75).

Der zweite Teil, *Frühjüdische und hellenistische Kontexte*, untersucht die Bezüge verschiedener Texte oder Motive des JohEv zur jüd. und hell.-röm. Umwelt. R. Zimmermann beleuchtet "Jesus im Bild Gottes: Anspielungen

auf das Alte Testament im JohEv am Beispiel der Hirtenbildfelder in Joh 10" (81-116; darin einleitend eine gute Problemskizze zu Johannes und das AT, Schriftverwendung und Schrifthermeneutik). Zu den Bildfeldern zum Hirten im AT gehört der König, insbesondere David als Hirte, Gott als Hirte seiner Herde, der für die Zukunft verheißene Hirt. Zimmermann schließt mit der Analyse der Anspielungen in Joh 10 auf bekannte Bildfelder und der christologischen Aneignung der atl. Bildfeldtradition. J. Frey fragt "Licht aus den Höhlen? Der 'joh. Dualismus' und die Texte von Qumran" (117-203). Frey behandelt die Funktion der Qumran-These in der Johannesforschung der 50er und 60er Jahre, den gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion um sprachliche und thematische Parallelen, Aspekte der neueren Qumranforschung, die eine differenziertere Betrachtung erfordern und nach Frey zu einer Revision des verbreiteten Bildes zwingen. Dem folgt eine ausführliche Darstellung des dualistischen Denkens der Qumranschriften sowie die religionsgeschichtl. und funktionale Analyse der dualistischen Sprachelemente im *Corpus Johanneum*, der Ertrag ("Die Annahme, dass der joh. Dualismus mittelbar oder gar unmittelbar aus dem dualistischen Denken der Qumrantexte bzw. ihrer Trägerkreise inspiriert sei, läßt sich allerdings religionsgeschichtl. und philologisch in keiner Weise begründen", 200) und weiterführende Perspektiven.

C. Claussen untersucht "Das Gebet in Joh 17 im Kontext von Gebeten aus zeitgenössischen Pseudepigraphen" (205-232). Als vergleichbare Gebete im Abschiedskontext werden die syrische Baruch-Apokalypse (48.2-24) und das 4. Esrabuch (8.20-36) herangezogen. Innerhalb der Makrostruktur der jeweiligen Kontexte zeigt sich, "dass alle drei Gebete als Gliederungselemente zugleich einen bevorstehenden Höhepunkt markieren" (231). Der charakteristische Unterschied besteht darin, dass die unüberbietbare Einheit von Beter und Adressaten (Joh 17:21f) "die für ein Gebet unverzichtbare *conditio sine qua non* einer klaren Unterscheidbarkeit der beiden Personen" sprengt. "Genau damit kommt in Joh 17 das Proprium einer im JohEv christologisch motivierten Nicht-Unterscheidbarkeit der Gottheit im Vater und im Sohn zum Ausdruck" (232). M. Becker erarbeitet "Zeichen: Die joh. Wunderterminologie und die frührabbin. Tradition" (233-276; einführende Überlegungen zur Problematik eines traditions- und religionsgeschichtl. Vergleichs mit rabbin. Quellen, joh. Zeichen-Terminologie und deren Einbindung in den Horizont biblischer, frühjüd. und frührabbin. Traditionen). Die joh. Zeichen zeigen eine "erhebliche Nähe zum sprachlichen Anschauungshorizont der biblischen wie frührabbin.

Tradition" (275; zum Thema vgl. auch E. Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNT.S 231; Sheffield: SAP, 2002).

F. Siegert beleuchtet "Der Logos, 'älterer Sohn' des Schöpfers und 'zweiter Gott': Philons Logos und der Johannesprolog" (277-293). Dem gleichen Text gilt der Beitrag von J. Leonhardt-Balzer ("Der Logos und die Schöpfung: Streiflichter bei Philo (*De Opificio* 20-25) und im Johannesprolog", 295-319; Forschungsgeschichte, Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen dem joh. und philonischen Logos). M. Labahn erklärt die "Die *parrhesia* des Gottessohnes im JohEv: Theologische Hermeneutik und philosophisches Selbstverständnis" (321-364; Zusammenstellung und Interpretation der *parrhesia* Vorkommen im JohEv, *p.* in der antiken philosophischen Diskussion, Auswertung und Überlegungen zum religionsgeschichtl. Ort des JohEv). Labahn schließt: "Rezeption und Innovation kennzeichnen die joh. Verwendung von *parrhesia* im Vergleich mit der antiken Bedeutungsgeschichte des Begriffs. Beides, Aufnahme wie Veränderung, wird durch die Christologie und die joh. Horizontverschmelzung gesteuert... Der joh. Jesus ist dargestellt als ein wahrhafter *parrhesiastes*. So nähert er sich dem Bild des kynischen Philosophen an" (360).

M. Lang vergleicht die "Joh. Abschiedsreden und Senecas Konsolationsliteratur" und fragt: "Wie konnte ein Römer Joh 13,31-17,26 lesen?" (365-412; Forschungsgeschichte, Grundzüge der Konsolationsliteratur bis Cicero, Seneca als *consolator*, der Evangelist als *consolator*, Lang schließt, dass das JohEv von philosophisch interessierten Lesern rezipierbar war). Von K. Scholtissek stammt der Aufsatz "Eine größere Liebe als diese hat niemand, als wenn einer sein Leben hingibt für seine Freunde" (Joh 15:13): Die hellenistische Freundschaftsethik und das JohEv" (413-439). Scholtissek bietet einen Überblick über die griech.-röm. Freundschaftsethik sowie über die frühjüd. Freundschaftsethik (Sir, Philo, II und IV Makk). Dann skizziert er die joh. Freundschaftsethik (F. und Liebe, F. und *parrhesia*, F. und Familienmetaphorik, der Freund Jesus und seine Freunde in Joh 15:9-17 als zentralem Bezugstext). Die joh. Freundschaftsethik

gewinnt ihr Profil aus einer unübersehbaren Anknüpfung an hell. und hell.-jüd. Vorgaben... und zugleich einer inhaltlichen Neubestimmung, die sich aus der "einseitigen" Lebenshingabe Jesu Christi ergibt. Auf der Grundlage dieser Lebenshingabe Jesu, die das Leben in Fülle wirkt, erwächst die von den Christen geforderte Freundschaftslove.... Dabei darf die joh. Reformulierung bzw. -interpretation der griech.-röm. Tradition nicht übersehen werden. Im JohEv wird bei aller Anknüpfung an das hell. Freundschaftsethos der Kontrast bewusst betont: Jesu Freundschaft ist einseitig,

wird ohne Vorbedingungen geschenkt, ist universal und überwindet soziale Hierarchien (von Knechten zu Freunden). Die freiwillige Lebenshingabe Jesu in den Tod wird als ein soteriologisch einzigartiger, stellvertretender Freundschaftsdienst verstanden, die die "Freunde Jesu" ermächtigt und beruft, in der Freundesgemeinschaft Jesu zu leben. Ihre antwortende Liebe findet ihr Maß an der Gleichheit, Geschwisterlichkeit und Gegenseitigkeit stiftenden, bis zur Lebenshingabe erwiesenen Freundschafts-
liebe Jesu (439).

Das Ergebnis am Ende von Scholtisseks Beitrag kann als Schlussfolgerung dieser Studien für die "Kontexte" (bewusst im Plural formuliert) des JohEv gelten:

Das JohEv erweist sich als Zeugnis einer eigenständigen Theologie des urchristl. Evangeliums, die über einen erstaunlich weiten religionsgeschichtl. Horizont verfügt und diesen auch für die eigenen Botschaft und Rezeption bei unterschiedlichen Adressaten fruchtbar zu machen versteht. Insofern ist dem JohEv eine erhebliche kultur- und zeitübergreifende "ökumenische" Reichweite eigen, die sich der hohen Inkulturationsleistung der joh. Theologie verdankt, und die bis in die Gegenwart noch keineswegs ausgeschöpft ist. Der "Sitz im Leben" des JohEv kann nicht monokausal bzw. monokulturell auf eine einzige, religionsgeschichtl. verrechenbare Situation und Konstellation festgelegt werden (439).

Im Teil *Frühchristliche Kontexte* des JohEv geht es um Vergleiche mit ntl. und frühchristl. Schriften. M. Labahn und M. Lang geben einen Überblick über "Johannes und die Synoptiker: Positionen und Impulse seit 1990" (443-515). Z. Studenovsky schreibt "Dort werdet ihr ihn sehen" (Mk 16:7): Der Weg Jesu nach Galiläa bei Johannes und Markus" (517-558). T. Popp untersucht "Die Kunst der Wiederholung: Repetition, Variation und Amplifikation im vierten Evangelium am Beispiel von Joh 6,60-71" (559-592). C. Hoegen-Rohls beleuchtet "Joh. Theologie im Kontext paulinischen Denkens? Eine forschungsgeschichtl. Skizze" (593-612). In U. Heckels Aufsatz geht es um "Die Einheit der Kirche im JohEv und im Epheserbrief: Ein Vergleich der ekklesiologischen Strukturen" (613-640). E.E. Popkes steuert "Ich bin das Licht"—Erwägungen zur Verhältnisbestimmung des Thomasevangeliums und der joh. Schriften anhand der Lichtmetaphorik" (641-674) bei. T. Nagel schreibt "Zur Gnostisierung der joh. Tradition: Das 'Geheime Evangelium nach Johannes' (Apokryphon Johannis) als gnostische Zusatzoffenbarung zum vierten Evangelium" (675-693). Abschließend fragt B. Mutschler "Was weiß Irenäus vom JohEv?: Der historische Kontext des JohEv aus der Perspektive seiner Rezeption bei Irenäus von Lyon" (695-642).

Ein Verzeichnis der Mitarbeiter dieses Bandes (743f), Autorenregister (745-757), Stellenregister (in Auswahl, 758-789) und ein Sachregister (790-799) beenden den hervorragend produzierten Band. Durchweg wird auf weitere Fragestellungen und Vergleichsmöglichkeiten hingewiesen (vgl. z. B. S. 44f, 276). Der Band beinhaltet viele inspirierende Perspektiven auf das JohEv und seine verschiedenen Kontexte und zeigt, dass die Johannesforschung im 21. Jh. differenziert zu interessanten Ufern aufbricht. Ob dabei Synthesen gelingen werden, wie sie im 20. Jh. über Jahrzehnte die Forschung bestimmt—sowohl angeregt als auch verhindert!—haben, bleibt abzuwarten. Durch die vielen Einführungen und Forschungsüberblicke ist der Band zugleich eine gute Einführung in die neuere Forschung zum JohEv.

Christoph Stenschke

Michelle P. Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2006). 360 pp. ISBN 0934868037 (paperback), \$24.95.

Larry W. Hurtado (ed.), *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies on an American Treasure Trove* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), x + 308 pp. ISBN 1589832086 \$34.95, (= *Text Critical Studies* 6).

Scot McKendrick, *In a Monastery Library: Preserving Codex Sinaiticus and the Greek Written Heritage* (London: The British Library), 48 pp. ISBN 0712349405, £6.95.

In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000 is an outstanding and attractive introduction to and catalogue of an exhibition held at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in association with the Freer Gallery of Art and the Bodleian Library, Oxford from October 2006 to January 2007. The book (10 1/2 inches × 9 1/2) is lavishly illustrated throughout and also contains seventy-four full colour plates. The whole has been published to a very high professional standard, and our thanks are extended to the editors, contributors and publishers.

The exhibition marked the centenary of Charles Lang Freer's visit to Egypt in 1906, where he purchased his first biblical manuscripts, which are now housed in the Freer Gallery. The Washington Codex of the Four Gospels (variously known as the Freer Gospels, Codex Washington(i)ensis or Codex Washingtonianus) is the most famous text. Among the others are the Washington Codex of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the Washington Manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, the Coptic Psalter, the Washington Codex of the Psalms, and the Washington Codex of the Minor Prophets; all were on display at the exhibition and of course figure in this catalogue. These Freer manuscripts are justly famous in their own right and are valuable texts, but at the exhibition they were surrounded by a cornucopia of other major manuscripts from around the world. As well as exhibits from the partner institution, the Bodleian, are treasures from St Catharine's, Mount Sinai (including some of its new finds from the 1970s), from the British Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Chester Beatty Library, the National Library of Russia and elsewhere. (Strangely, only one Italian collection—the Laurenziana, Florence—contributed.) Seldom does one have the chance to see such manuscript riches. The reader of this catalogue is enabled to share the enthusiasm of and authoritative comments by

a number of experts on this representative selection of valuable manuscripts from the first millennium A.D. Splendidly clear pictures of all of these manuscripts appear in the catalogue (pp. 104-244) and each manuscript is accompanied by an informative description (pp. 246-310).

The exhibits are divided into sections, and we may appreciate from the following listing just how comprehensive this book is in its coverage: *Scrolls and Codex* a) "The Earliest Hebrew Scriptures" (plates 1-9), b) "The Earliest Christian Scriptures" (10-20); *Formation and Codification* a) "The Evolution of the Bible" (21-25), b) "The Earliest Christian Bibles" (26-31); *From Babel to Pentecost: 'Sacred Languages' and the Vernaculars*, that is Eastern versions, the Arabic, Syriac, Slavic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Georgian (32-40); *Spreading the Word* a) "The Single-Volume Bible (41-43), b) "The Book as Desert: The Scribe as Evangelist" (44-45), showing how scribes sometimes saw their role in evangelizing, c) "From Eastern Deserts to Western Isles" (46-52), demonstrating the widespread dissemination of Bibles, especially psalters and lectionaries, d) "Early Christian Britain and Ireland" (53-61) with many examples of the distinctive texts that originated in the British Isles; *The Book as Icon* (62-74), demonstrating the ways in which the illuminations and indeed the covers of the manuscripts show the book as an artefact to be venerated.

Each of these sections containing the albums of plates is briefly introduced. Plate 44 (Codex Aureus) appears twice, once in sequence, where its portrait of Matthew is shown (and later, pp. 283-284, described) and again after plate 69, that time showing a double-page spread of text to enable a ready comparison with another purple Gospel codex, the codex Brixianus (Plate 70). Cross-references could usefully have been given on the pages of plates as well as in the comments.

We meet important texts like the Second Isaiah Codex, the Aleppo Codex, the Egerton Gospel, the Magdalen fragments of Matthew (where the notes, wisely, ignore Thiede's notorious controversies of a decade ago!), P45, P46, P.Oxy 1, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Claromontanus, the Alcuin Bible, the Codex Aureus, Bede's Commentary on Proverbs, and the Rabula Gospels. But it is invidious to isolate these well-known manuscripts. All seventy four are important examples of their respective genres. I particularly valued having BL add. 21932, an Armenian Gospelbook photographed at the end of Mark, where it is patently obvious that the scribe hesitated whether to include the 'longer ending' or not, decided in the end not to do so, and utilized the space by writing out in an exaggerated way the closing verses of Mark 16:1-8. It is also good that we have examples of

two Slavic versions in Glagolitic script. Such manuscripts are not widely known. (There is a permanent exhibition of Glagolitic writings of various kinds in the library of the University of Rijeka, Croatia.)

The plates are preceded by four major scholarly essays, each replete with helpful academic footnotes and with a glossary and bibliography. They are "The Bible as Book" by Harry Gamble, whose judicious survey is a classic of its type; "The Christian Orient" by Monica J. Blanchard; "Spreading the Word" by Michelle P. Brown and "The Book as Icon" by Herbert Kessler. Each relates part of the history of the Bible in this period. They inform the rest of the volume but are of wider general application as well. Matters such as the adoption and popularization of the codex form, the history of the divisions within the Eastern churches, the importance of St Catharine's Mount Sinai and the Deir el-Suriani Monastery, the Wadi Natrun, and the importance of the Carolingian Biblical tradition are among the many topics covered. The history and growth of the Bible are plotted and the ways in which these texts were presented show that what began as a functional text for common use by communities, progressed to *de luxe* editions for display and veneration as well as to popularly produced private copies.

This is an important, reliable and well-produced book of value as an introduction to codicology, palaeography and Biblical textual criticism. It is, incidentally, a handsome coffee-table book, enhancing our appreciation of early Bibles as bibliographical artefacts. This is a volume that must extend beyond the life of the exhibition, and it is to be hoped that, when the Sackler Gallery's supplies of this paperback and hardcover edition are exhausted, the volume can be reissued. It does not deserve to be removed from sale just because the exhibition has been dismantled. This is a volume to cherish and to shelve alongside such complementary classics as Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, the British Library series, *The Bible as Book*, and Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*.

During the time the exhibition was running, the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature met in Washington DC. At one of its special sessions, mounted in the Freer Gallery, Professor Larry Hurtado and fellow contributors to an SBL monograph *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts* delivered presentations about different aspects of the Freer manuscripts. This volume has now been published. In it is an editorial introduction followed by ten essays. One, a splendidly researched article on Freer's acquisition of his six Biblical manuscripts by Kent D. Clarke tries to get behind the original, often confusing statements about their

provenance and the usual obfuscations of the local dealers. (This is much fuller than the brief essay in the catalogue.) The other essays are by Kristin De Troyer (on the Old Greek of Jonah); Malcolm Choat (on the unidentified text adjoining the dodekapropheton—this is probably the most useful and seminal essay in the collection); Jean-François Racine, J. Bruce Prior, Dennis Haugh, James R. Royse and Ulrich Schmid, all writing on aspects of the Gospel manuscript W (including a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Matthew, the nomina sacra in Matthew, the text types, the corrections, the dating). Two essays concern the Pauline fragments, one by Thomas A. Wayment on the scribal characteristics and one, highly technical piece, by Timothy J. Finney describing how the Hebrews needs to be “marked up” for translating into machine-readable language. It will be seen that the essays deal with certain aspects of only three of the six Freer Gospel manuscripts. It is most regrettable that Hurtado was not able to secure contributions about the other three texts. This is something he laments (pp. 11-12). What we have is, however, significant, showing us the importance of the research undertaken on the other three documents, especially the Freer Gospel manuscript. For some of the essays Sanders’ *editio princeps* of the Freer Gospel manuscript ought to be available.

On display at the Washington exhibition was a bifolium of Numbers from St Catherine’s, Sinai which is from among the new finds (in 1976) of a dozen or so pages of Codex Sinaiticus. This famous manuscript is soon to be reunited, albeit only electronically. A digitization process is currently underway as part of a major project spearheaded by the British Library in which the four custodians of parts of the manuscript (Leipzig, St Catherine’s monastery, the BL and the Russian National Library in St Petersburg (that still has 3 pages)) are cooperating. Also arising from this combined work will be a facsimile edition, a scholarly transcription of the whole and a full history of the Codex. These details emerge in a British Library booklet *In a Monastery Library*. As well as informing us of the new work, the pamphlet retells the familiar story of the finding of the manuscript by Tischendorf, its importance, its history and how it was made. It pays to be reminded of just how unique this early full Bible in Greek actually is. The pamphlet follows in a line of such publications from the British Library (and before that, the British Museum Library) explaining to the general reader the significance of one of its greatest treasures. These include *The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible* (1934), and *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (1938, revised 1951; 1955; 1963). The latest pamphlet does indeed tell us about Alexandrinus in one section and there is a

plate. There are also plates of Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Petropolitanus (022), the Egerton fragments of an apocryphal gospel and BL mss., known to readers of *NovT* as 438 (said here to be 6th-7th century; the *Liste* has 12th. century!), 699 (said to be 10th century, one century earlier than normally stated) and 492. There are also several other archive photographs including a newspaper cutting about the arrival of Codex Sinaiticus in London in 1933, in which it is reported that Tischendorf's grandson was present on that occasion at the Museum. The bulk of the brochure is written by Scot McKendrick, head of Western Manuscripts at the BL, who presents his information about the manuscripts admirably clearly for a general readership, although perhaps more should have been said on pp. 33, 35 to explain what the Eusebian Canon tables are—the non-specialist reader may have queries about that. The current booklet seems to lend credence to the argument of a former Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the British Museum Library, T.C. Skeat, (present when Sinaiticus arrived in the Museum) made most forcefully in *JTS* 50 (1999) that Sinaiticus may have been prepared in Caesarea to help satisfy Constantine's demand for fifty Bibles. McKendrick claims (on p. 35) that there are 5746 NT mss. in Greek. That is indeed the total of the highest numbered manuscripts in each of the categories (papyri, majuscules, minuscules, lectionaries) but that total fails to take into account numbers originally allocated to mss. that no longer apply, because of duplicate allocations, redundant numbers or amalgamations. Thus the total is lower than 5746. A final section written by Prof. Nicolas Pickwoad explains how the library at St Catherine's is being assisted in preserving its valuable holdings. The ms. of Hebrews referred to on p. 13 is 0252 (from the 5th century!) [Query from this reviewer who remembers Britain's pre-decimal currency: Was there, as is stated on p. 24, a half-farthing in 1933?]

J.K. Elliott

Book Notes

1) James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus and Archaeology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), xxv + 740 pp., ISBN 0802848802, \$50. A conference took place in Jerusalem on Jesus and archaeology to mark the millennium: many of the papers in the present collection were delivered there then, and we are grateful to its editor and publisher for making them available in this large volume, attractively illustrated with maps, diagrams and photographs. Charlesworth's aim, as convenor of the conference and now as editor of the published essays, is to use the results of archaeology to piece together the world into which Jesus was born, asking about the ways in which recent archaeological discoveries clarify the world, life and thought of Jesus. Some contributions are by Biblical scholars, and many are by archaeologists working in the Holy Land. Several authorities are included here, for example Sean Freyne, Bruce Chilton, Richard Batey, Dan Bahat and Yizhar Hirschfeld. Many articles are obviously concerned with places such as Sephhoris, Cana, Bethsaida, the Temple Mount, as well as with buildings, theatres, synagogues, houses. The geographical index shows how frequently references to the actual places mentioned in the Gospels figure throughout this volume. Whereas we are well served with books on the linguistic, literary and theological world of the New Testament, there are comparatively few volumes that deal with tangible artefacts of the period. (Until recently many have had to rely on Finegan's *The Archaeology of the New Testament* of 1969, rev. 1992.) This is a worthy newcomer, and is all the more welcome because of that.

2) R. McL. Wilson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Colossians and Philemon* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2005), xxxvi + 380 pp., ISBN 0567044718, £55. This is a worthy addition to the prestigious *ICC* series. Having taught these texts for many years at St Andrews and having worked on this commentary for a long period, Robin Wilson was all too aware that he could have expanded the work in an attempt to be exhaustive. Fortunately he resisted that and has cut to the chase, concentrating on essentials and on places where he has something fresh to impart. As a consequence this is a commentary in which we learn anew about the riches of and problems with these texts. His exegesis of these difficult epistles is authoritative and readable. The introductions to the two texts cover questions of date, provenance and the motives for composition; the authorship of Colossians is discussed fully as is the relationship of Colossians with Ephesians. All sides are given their say but Wilson is cautious about going beyond the evidence, accepting that many proposed possibilities are mere speculation. See, for instance, his concluding remarks on these introductory matters on p. 35. His long introduction to the Colossian Heresy, identified as a nascent Gnosticism, is particularly helpful, coming as it does from a master in the area

of early Gnosticism. Similarly his thirty-five page exegesis of the Colossian 'Hymn' is particularly authoritative. The many text-critical problems in these letters are given full rein (e.g. at Col. 1:21-22), and carefully argued conclusions reached on them where the evidence permits. Although Wilson invites us to skip over passages printed in small type, in fact it is in those paragraphs, and in the many long footnotes, where we learn most. We congratulate the now nonagenarian Robin Wilson for this major important commentary.

3) Leslie Houlden (ed.), *Jesus: The Complete Guide* (London and New York: Continuum, 2005), xxxvii + 922 pp., ISBN 082648011X, £35. This paperback version comes two years after the original publication and shows how successful the book has been. There are entries, some quite lengthy, on all aspects of Jesus, his life, teaching and influence. These are arranged alphabetically, there being sixteen articles specifically on Jesus (Origins of, Parables of, in Social Context e.g.). However many may wish to refer to this volume historically or thematically, looking at Biblical scholarship, early thought, mediaeval teaching, gnosticism, Holy Spirit etc., and for them the main entries in each such area are helpfully itemised in a topical List of Entries. In many ways the book should be *Christianity, the Complete Guide* because the bulk of entries are on major forms of Christianity, Christianity in certain countries, or continents, and on Christian culture, art, music, film literature. There is a strong Anglican and British focus to the work. There are some seventy-six contributors, the highest proportion from the UK. Several have been responsible for only one entry apiece although the editor has written forty two articles, including most of those on Jesus and on the New Testament. The introductory remarks, a full glossary of technical terms and a good index add to the usefulness of this book

4) Bart D. Ehrman, *Whose Word Is It? The Story behind Who Changed the New Testament and Why* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), viii + 242 pp., ISBN 0826491294, £16.99. Ehrman has cornered the market in recent years with books that popularize aspects of textual criticism and the early church. In the present book he interjects a biographical account of how his scholarship and attitude to the New Testament texts have developed. The comparatively low cost of this hardback edition, its lively and personalised style (and perhaps its more provocative title for the US edition, *Misquoting Jesus. The Story...*) made it a *New York Times* bestseller. These last two points should not deter our commending this as a painless introduction to persuade those who claim that research into "Lower" Criticism is *recherché*. Ehrman's earlier and more substantial work on this theme, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* has been quarried, as is evident in ch. 6. Many of Ehrman's well honed examples, prominent also in the articles recently reprinted in his *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, such as Mark 1:41; Luke 22:43-44, Heb 2:9 are paraded yet again, as is the perennial problem of Paul's teaching about women in 1 Cor. 14. He spells out that changes were made for theological motives and for harmonizing parallels. The current book should be welcomed as a stimulus to general readers and scholars to see the relevance and impact of textual criticism. He carefully explains technical terms and jargon. This book is already having an effect in some quarters: Williams' book on the Synoptic Problem, reviewed below, is being publicized as a response to the increased

interest in textual criticism resulting from Ehrman's book. The book contains eight monochrome photographs.

5) Matthew C. Williams, *Two Gospels from One: A Comprehensive Text-Critical Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2006), 256 pp., ISBN 082543940X. \$21. The present reviewer is particularly pleased to welcome this little book, for its theme, the need to keep an eye closely on the *apparatus criticus* to a published synopsis, is one I have been trying to publicize for many years. It is a primer for newcomers to the topic and thus has chapters on the history of the Synoptic Problem, the history of textual criticism and an analysis of the *apparatus* of certain pericopes in eight chapters of Mark. Williams then goes on to analyse the textual differences between Matthew and Mark in those same passages. This "hands on" demonstration of how such work can and should be conducted is the most helpful part of the book. Those latter two sections are then subjected to an over-all assessment "Comparing Matthean-Markan Differences with Scribal Changes" and he suggests possible reasons for secondary readings in both. Williams' methodology and examples are helpful, even if his conclusions may strike us as obvious. His inclination to accept the Nestle text (he finds he disagrees with the editors of NA²⁷ only five times out of the one hundred and seventy three verses analysed) and his assumption of Markan priority need not be decisive; his methodology could apply if one were working with differing conclusions to the synoptic problem and were using synopses established on different texts, e.g., those edited by Orchard, Poppi or Greeven.

6) Richard Valentasis, *The New Q: A Fresh Translation with Commentary* (London and New York: Continuum, 2005), x + 238 pp., ISBN 056725616, £16.99. Quite who would need a special commentary on Q, as distinct from one on, say, all of Jesus' sayings (or all those in Matthew and in Luke), especially as this book does not choose to explain all the intricacies of the definition, history and controversy surrounding this hypothetical source? Valentasis' little book is comparable to his notes on the Gospel of Thomas, which Routledge published ten years ago, but there he was dealing with an actual text. The present book may be consulted alongside the major study of Q with English translations by James Robinson *et al.*, *The Critical Edition of Q*, and Valentasis' comments may be set alongside the fuller exegeses by H.T. Fleddermann, in *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, both of which have been noticed in recent *Book Notes*. In effect, Valentasis' notes may be seen merely as a selected commentary on certain Jesus sayings found in Matthew and Luke. Little is made of a unified Q theology for example, and we may just as easily seek exegetical help from conventional commentaries on the separate Gospels. This is not a commentary on Q, only explanatory notes on isolated sayings.

7) William Horbury, *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), xii + 268 pp., ISBN 3161488776, €89 (= WUNT 193). This title is given to a book of eight essays divided into two halves, the first on the period of the Herods. Horbury's distinctive and perceptive work on Herodian Judaism has been recognised for some time and it is gratifying to see in the present collection six extensive essays reproduced. These include "Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age", "Moses and the Covenant in the Assumption of Moses and the Pentateuch", "The

Books of Solomon in Ancient Mysticism", "Der Tempel bei Vergil und im herodianischen Judentum" (now with an extended English summary), "'Gospel' in Herodian Judea", and "Cena Pura and Lord's Supper". A common theme is that of Jewish and Christian piety, and that is given as the subtitle to this half. The essays here profile the characteristics of Judaism under the Herods and how these were reflected in early Christianity. The second section contains a valuable and authoritative survey, sixty pages long, "British New Testament Study in its International Setting, 1902-2002", which is obviously much more focussed than the title of this volume, and "Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Interpretation", being a survey of how (and why) Rabbinic texts should be consulted by Biblical scholars, despite their often late date. That essay is newly published here. The other seven essays were originally published in a variety of edited works and all date from the past seven years, two of them having been published in only 2005. This collection is furnished with helpful indexes.

8) Ismo Dunderberg, *The Beloved Disciple in Conflict?: Revisiting the Gospels of John and Thomas* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), xiii + 249 pp., ISBN0199284962, £45. Dunderberg has previously published several chapters and articles on this topic. Here he has gathered those previous studies together and substantially re-ordered and rewritten some of them in this little monograph. Chapters on the figure of Thomas in the Fourth Gospel, on Jesus' I-Sayings in Thomas, and three on the Beloved Disciple are intended as evidence to show that (*contra* George J. Riley, April DeConick and Elaine Pagels recently) the Fourth Gospel and the community responsible for the Gospel of Thomas were not in conflict. The answer to the query of the title is "No". There is a sharing of common ideas (set out helpfully on pp. 6-8); both are probably of a similar date (? 90) but there is no literary dependence of one on the other. He refutes suggestions that the Beloved Disciple was Thomas. Both texts independently reveal that there were debates about the authentication of the traditions about Jesus and that that authority did not reside in Jesus' brothers. Having known Dunderberg's writing from earlier publications and being one of the 'anonymous readers' of his drafts referred to on p. vi, it is personally satisfying to see his work attractively presented in this book.

9) Mark M.W. Waterman, *The Empty Tomb Tradition in Mark: Text, History and Theological Struggles* (Los Angeles: Agathos Press, xiv + 255 pp., ISBN 9781933740003, \$150 (= *Theology, History, and Biblical Studies Series 1*). The historical, archaeological and theological significance of Mark's empty tomb narrative is subjected to a careful and critical analysis. Waterman, who seems to have come to the discipline relatively late after a variegated career, is no stranger to the secondary literature, although he confesses (p. 86) to being an observer of the academic debates. He has read extensively and he interacts effectively with recent authorities. There is a rich array of cross references to scholarly publications in his footnotes. Redaction, literary and textual criticism all come into play as he discusses fairly and comprehensively the composition and extent of Mark's Gospel, especially its conclusion(s). This is a well structured study, with helpful summaries and a chapter of conclusions.

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- Abasciano, Brian J., *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9: 1-9* (London/New York: Continuum) 0567030733
- Angel, Andrew, *Chaos and the Son of Man* (London/New York: Continuum) 0567030989
- Angold, Michael (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity* 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 0421811139
- Barr, David L., *The Reality of Apocalypse* (Atlanta: SBL) 1589832434
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Leben im Gesetz

Die paulinische Interpretation von Lev 18:5 (Gal 3:12; Röm 10:5)

Nicole Chibici-Revneanu
Greifswald

Abstract

Das Verständnis des Schriftzitates von Lev 18:5 in Gal 3:12 und Röm 10:5 gibt seit langem Rätsel auf: Wie ist ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς im Horizont paulinischer Theologie zu verstehen? Dieser Beitrag geht der Frage nach, wie Paulus Lev 18:5 aus seinem ursprünglichen Kontext heraus verstanden haben könnte, und wie er von dort ausgehend das Schriftwort in den Dienst eigener Argumentationen stellen konnte. Von besonderer Bedeutung scheint dabei die präpositionale Wendung ἐν αὐτοῖς gewesen zu sein, anhand derer Paulus Lev 18:5 mit anderen Schriftstellen kontrastiert (in Gal 3:11-12 mit Hab 2.4: ἐκ πίστεως; in Röm 10:5-8 mit Dtn 30:11-14: ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου).

Keywords

Paulus; Gesetz; Lev 18:5; Gal 3:12; Röm 10:5; Schriftauslegung

Die argumentative Verwendung von Lev 18:5 in den Briefen des Paulus ist seit langem "a source of rather intense headaches for exegetes"¹: Zu behaupten, der Mensch, der das Gesetz tut, würde dadurch leben, scheint so "unpaulinisch",² dass man verschiedentlich erwogen hat, Paulus würde

¹ D. Garlington, "Role Reversal and Paul's Use of Scripture in Galatians 3.10-13", *JSNT* 65 (1997) 85-121, hier 85. Zur Auslegungsgeschichte vgl. Johan S. Vos, "Die hermeneutische Antinomie bei Paulus", *NTS* 38 (1992) 254-270, bes. 254-257; Joel Willits, "Context Matters: Paul's Use of Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12", *TynB* 54 (2003) 105-122, bes. 106-110.

² So fände es etwa Vos, "Antinomie", 268, ohne die unten in Anm. 5 zu nennende Rekonstruktion "schwer einzusehen, weshalb Paulus an dieser Stelle Lev 18.5 zitiert, eine Stelle, die so deutlich gegen sein Evangelium von der Rechtfertigung aus dem Glauben spricht". J. Rohde, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (ThHK 9; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt,

mit diesem Schriftzitat nur einen bzw. den Irrtum der Schrift nachweisen wollen.³ Komplizierte Raster wurden an die Argumentation von Gal 3:10-14 angelegt,⁴ um zu erweisen, dass dieses Zitat nur angeführt werde, um diskreditiert und (durch Hab 2:4) widerlegt zu werden.⁵ Wäre Paulus

1989) 142 meint: "Zwar kann aus der Stelle im Buch Leviticus auch der entgegengesetzte Schluß gezogen werden, daß die Gerechtigkeit nur durch Gesetzeswerke und nicht durch Glauben erlangt wird. (...) Trotzdem zieht Paulus dieses Wort hier heran, so daß er sich schon sehr sicher gewesen sein muß, daß die Galater es nicht gegen ihn geltend machen würden."

³ So charakterisiert etwa J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 307, das Zitat in Gal 3:12 als "the false promise uttered by that cursing Law". Nicht immer wird dieser Schritt vollzogen; aber auch eine Interpretation von Lev 18:5, die dieses Schriftwort innerhalb der paulinischen Argumentation als "Grund-Satz der Gesetzesgerechtigkeit" (U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, Bd. 2: Röm 6-11 [EKK 6/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980] 224; ähnlich D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer* [RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1985] 186) versteht, die der Glaubensgerechtigkeit gegenübergestellt wird, bleibt für derartige schrifthermeneutische Implikationen grundsätzlich anschlussfähig. Wohin ein Verständnis des Zitates als "false promise" führen kann, zeigen weiterführende Gedanken von Martyn, *Galatians*, 316 Anm. 101, zu Röm 10:5: "[D]oes he [Paulus] mean to identify Moses as a false prophet?" Mit U. Wilckens, "Zur Entwicklung des paulinischen Gesetzesverständnisses", *NTS* 28 (1982) 154-190, hier 169, muss dagegen eingewandt werden: "Das hieße, daß Paulus die jüdische Hermeneutik völlig verlassen würde (wie es erst die späteren Gnostiker getan haben), während er gerade hier streng nach den Regeln rabbinischer Schriftauslegung argumentiert."

⁴ Vos, "Antinomie", 257, setzt im Gefolge älterer Arbeiten auf "die logische Form des Syllogismus in der zweiten Figur", der die "hermeneutische Antinomie" impliziere. J. Louis Martyn, "Paul's Understanding of the Textual Contradiction between Habakkuk 2:4 and Leviticus 18:5", *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 465-473, arbeitet (in stellenweise starker Anlehnung an Vos) mit dem fünfteiligen Schema einer "Textual Contradiction", die er aber bei Paulus in Gal 3:11-12 in einer bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verstümmelten Form rekonstruiert. Hinter der Modifikation des Schemas vermutet Martyn das Anliegen, die "Contradiction" in der Unauflöslichkeit ihrer Spannung zu betonen.

⁵ So etwa Martyn, "Contradiction", 469: Paulus zitiere diesen von seinen Gegnern verwendeten Beleg (s. u. Anm. 6), um nachzuweisen, dass "[t]he Law extolled and quoted by the Teachers does not have its origin in the faith about which Habakkuk speaks". Denn: "Far from thinking (...) that Hab 2:4 is itself drawn from the Law, Paul uses it to disqualify the Law" (470). Nicht weniger problematisch erscheint Vos, "Antinomie", 267: "Für den jüdischen Leser bilden Lev 18.5 und Hab 2.4 ein harmonisches Ganzes. Nur aufgrund der Vorentscheidung, daß die Heidenchristen sich nicht an bestimmte Gesetzesbestimmungen zu halten brauchen, kommt es bei Paulus zu einer Dissoziation beider

damit aber dem (wohl nicht zu überschätzenden) Bildungsstand seiner Adressaten gerecht geworden? Konnte er damit rechnen, dass die Galater zur Anwendung und zum Verständnis solcher Schemata in der Lage waren, bzw. dass sie überhaupt *erkennen* konnten, dass ein solches Schema in die Argumentation eingebaut ist? Hinzu kommt: Hätte Paulus tatsächlich Lev 18:5 zitiert, um die Schrift des Irrtums zu überführen—hätte man dann nicht zumindest erwarten können, dass er die “Schrift” als solche kenntlich macht? Das geschieht zwar in Röm 10:5; in der weitaus polemischer gehaltenen Passage Gal 3:10-14 wird das Zitat jedoch ohne jegliche Einführung in die Argumentation eingebracht, es setzt einen Satz fort, den Paulus begonnen hat. Das heißt auch, ein galatischer Leser oder eine galatische Hörerin, die mit dieser Schriftstelle nicht vertraut gewesen wäre,⁶ hätte sie gar nicht als solche erkannt—und hätte damit notwendigerweise auch den Nachweis über den Irrtum der Schrift nicht verstanden.

Besonders schwer muss die Tatsache wiegen, dass Lev 18:5 in der Argumentation des Gal von drei weiteren Schriftziten (Dtn 27:26; Hab 2:4; Dtn 21:23) umgeben ist, die allesamt keinerlei Anzeichen dafür erkennen lassen, als irrtumsbehaftet disqualifiziert zu werden. Selbst wenn die Schrift für Paulus “mit zwei Stimmen” spräche, wie aus Gal 4:21 gefolgert werden konnte,⁷ wie sollten die Adressaten des Briefes dann erkennen, dass gerade im dritten von vier Schriftworten eine andere “Stimme” spricht als in den drei anderen? Ist das entscheidende Axiom der Widerlegungsthese nicht vielmehr, dass nicht von Paulus sein *kann*, was nicht von Paulus sein *darf*?

In diesem Beitrag soll der Versuch unternommen werden, dem paulinischen Verständnis von Lev 18:5 auf die Spur zu kommen, mit dem

Stellen.” Wie sollten aber die Adressaten paulinischer Briefe wissen, welche Schriftzitate die Verlässlichkeit der Schrift voraussetzen und welche das Gegenteil? Würde sich Paulus mit einem solchen “antinomistischen” Vorgehen nicht letztlich einer seiner wichtigsten Argumentationsgrundlagen berauben? Immerhin hält Vos (269) an der “göttliche[n] Autorität von Lev 18:5” fest und plädiert dafür, Röm 10:5 von 3:27-31 her zu verstehen. Wie sollten Leser und Hörerinnen aber wissen, dass es an dieser Stelle um den νόμος πίστεως geht, wenn Lev 18:5 unter Verweis auf die Gerechtigkeit aus dem (mosaischen) Gesetz eingeführt wird? Für Dtn 30:12-14 wäre ein solches Verständnis unter Berufung auf die christologisch interpretierenden Bemerkungen weitaus eher plausibel zu machen als für Lev 18:5.

⁶ Vos, “Antinomie”, 268; Martyn, “Understanding”, 467-468, haben vermutet, es hätte sich bei Lev 18:5 um einen Text der Gegner gehandelt; in diesem Falle wären die Galater damit wohl vertraut gewesen. Sicherheit ist darüber jedoch nicht zu erlangen; und hätte Paulus einen Zentraltext seiner Gegner tatsächlich in dieser Beiläufigkeit abgehandelt?

⁷ Martyn, “Contradiction”, 472.

Ziel, die Verwendung dieser Schriftstelle in Gal 3:12 und Röm 10:5 zu klären. Dass dieser Text für Paulus mit dem Gesetzesthema assoziiert war, lässt sich aus beiden Stellen erschließen und legt sich auch dem Inhalt von Lev 18:5 nach unbedingt nahe. Allerdings ist die Argumentation der beiden Passagen, innerhalb derer das Zitat begegnet, nicht völlig deckungsgleich: Während in Gal 3:10-14 Fluch und Segen den Horizont bilden, geht Röm 10:5 eine Gegenüberstellung von Gottesgerechtigkeit und "eigener" Gerechtigkeit voraus. "Gerechtigkeit" und "Glauben" begegnen im Umfeld beider Zitate.⁸ Weder die Gemeinsamkeiten noch die Unterschiede zwischen beiden Passagen sollten aus dem Blick geraten: Man wird davon ausgehen müssen, dass Lev 18:5 in die Argumentationen von Gal und Röm nicht in völlig identischer Weise eingebracht wird, dass aber grundsätzliche Konvergenzen in der Verwendung und Aussageabsicht des Zitates bestehen. Im Bereich jener Konvergenzen wird das grundsätzliche paulinische Verständnis von Lev 18:5 zu suchen sein, von dem ausgehend er diesen Text in situativ bestimmten Kommunikationsprozessen thematisch fruchtbar gemacht hat.

1. Wie könnte Paulus Lev 18:5 verstanden haben?

Lev 18:5 findet sich innerhalb des Heiligkeitgesetzes (Lev 17-26). Nach Kapitel 17 markiert 18:1 einen Neueinsatz; wie am Beginn einer Redeeinheit innerhalb des Textkomplexes Lev 17-26 üblich (vgl. 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 22:1, 17, 26 u. ö.), heißt es: "Und der Herr redete mit Mose und sprach" (וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר bzw. nach der LXX καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν λέγων). Das übergreifende Thema von Lev 18 sind sexuelle Verirrungen; um den Komplex der eigentlichen Ge- oder vielmehr Verbote in 18:6-23 sind zwei Textabschnitte gelegt, die zur Befolgung dieser Weisung auffordern und motivieren. In den einleitenden Abschnitt gehört 18:5: Gerahmt und durchdrungen von drei Selbstvorstellungen Gottes, des Herrn (18:2, 4, 5), wird hier dazu aufgefordert, den "Vorschriften" und "Gerichten" Gottes gemäß zu leben (18:4, 5); daran knüpft sich schließlich die Zusage, der Mensch, der diese "tue", werde בָּרָךְ bzw. ἐν αὐτοῖς leben. Zwei Beobachtungen scheinen hierzu wichtig zu sein: Die revidierte Lutherbibel übersetzt בָּרָךְ in Lev 18:5 mit "durch sie" (d. h., die "Vorschriften"

⁸ So meint auch James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 150: "In both cases (...) [the] function of the law is set in some contrast to faith."

und "Gerichte"); ebenso ἐν αὐτοῖς in Gal 3:12 und Röm 10:5. Sowohl dem hebräischen wie auch dem griechischen Text nach würde jedoch eine Übersetzung mit "in" deutlich näher liegen als mit "durch": Wer die Vorschriften Gottes tut, wird also eher *in* ihnen leben als *durch* sie. Damit ist eine soteriologische Qualität der Aussage zwar nicht in Frage gestellt, aber doch grundlegend anders verstanden: Es geht nicht (instrumental) um ein Mittel, Leben zu erlangen,⁹ sondern um einen *Bereich*, in dem sich Leben vollziehen wird.¹⁰

Die zweite Beobachtung betrifft den unmittelbaren Kontext von Lev 18:5, nämlich die Verse 18:1-5. Die Aufforderung zum Gebotsgehorsam hat hier eine besondere Spitze: Indem sich die Israeliten der angeführten sexuellen Verfehlungen enthalten, setzen sie sich von den "schändlichen Sitten" (Lev 18:30) anderer Völker ab.

Im Zentrum der einleitenden Verse steht die Aufforderung, sich nicht dem Tun der Ägypter und Kanaanäer anzugleichen *und nicht in ihren Satzungen zu wandeln*.¹¹ Die Israeliten sollen sich vielmehr an die Satzungen dessen halten, der sich in diesem Textabschnitt als ihr Herr und Gott zu erkennen gibt. Auch die das Kapitel abschließenden Verse 18:24-30 lassen diesen Gedankengang erkennen: So heißt es etwa, mit dem in 18:6-23

⁹ Wahrscheinlich wurde das instrumentale Verständnis durch den Kontext der Stelle insbesondere im Gal angeregt. Wo Paulus jedoch in einem instrumentalen Sinn vom Gesetz (oder auch vom Glauben, auch ἐκ πίστεως in 3:11 kann schließlich instrumental verstanden werden) sprechen will, setzt er die Präposition διὰ ein, wie etwa in Röm 3:20, 27; 4:13 (3:22, 25, 30, 31; Gal 3:14!). Dass er ἐν αὐτοῖς im Sinne von "durch sie" gehört haben sollte, entbehrt also m. E. jeder Grundlage.

¹⁰ Diese Beobachtung ist nicht neu; Rohde, *Galater*, 142, hat bereits auf einen "Bereich des Gesetzes" hingewiesen, den er versteht im Sinne dessen, "solange und soweit das Gesetz gilt". Das Implikat der Abgrenzung nach außen thematisiert er jedoch nicht. J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1993) 175, übersetzt "will live by (or in) them" (Original fett mit Ausnahme der Klammer) und versteht Lev 18:5 als "referring to life within the covenant"; den Bereichscharakter und die damit verbundene Abgrenzung nach außen werden allerdings nur am Rande thematisiert und nicht in die Interpretation eingebracht. In dieser Hinsicht deutlicher ist Dunn hingegen in dem erstmals 1985 veröffentlichten Aufsatz "Works of the Law and the curse of the Law (Gal. 3.10-14)", *The New Perspective on Paul* (WUNT 185; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005) 125-126: "Paul is referring to the typical Jewish self-understanding of the people of God as circumscribed and defined by the law."

¹¹ Der hebräische Text formuliert auch hier mit der Präposition ב; die LXX ist dem jedoch nicht gefolgt (hier wird ohne Präposition mit dem Dativ formuliert, obwohl es offensichtlich möglich gewesen wäre, dieselbe Wendung *mit* ἐν zu formulieren, vgl. Jer 33:4; Ez 5:6, 7; 20:18 LXX).

Verbotenen hätten sich die Völker unrein gemacht, die JHWH vor Israel her vertreiben will, Israel selbst hingegen solle sich nicht daran verunreinigen (18:23); Israel soll die *חֻקֵּי וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי* des Herrn halten und nicht in die Greuel verfallen, die die vorherigen Bewohner des Landes getan haben (18:26-27, 30), damit das Land es nicht ausspie, wie es die Völker zuvor ausgespien hat (18:28).

Am Beispiel der Ägypter, die Israel aus der Zeit seiner Gefangenschaft kennt, und der Kanaanäer, auf die Israel im Zuge der bevorstehenden "Landnahme" treffen soll, soll dem Gottesvolk die sexuelle Zügellosigkeit der "Völker" (18:24, 28) vor Augen geführt werden; die Argumentation der Rahmenteile 18:1-5, 24-30 setzt auf den "Sonderstatus" Israels, das sich nicht den Völkern angleichen soll. Als Merkmal der Nicht-Israeliten erscheint deren sexuelles Fehlverhalten;¹² das Merkmal der Israeliten soll ihr Wandel nach der Weisung JHWHs sein.

Wenn Paulus aus Lev 18:5 zitiert, bedient er sich also eines Textes, *in dem der Wandel nach den Vorschriften Gottes das ist, was Israel von anderen Völkern charakteristisch unterscheiden soll*.¹³ Einem "Gesetzeseiferer" wie

¹² Dieser Gedankengang findet sich auch in 20:22-23: Nach einer Aufzählung sexueller Schandtaten und deren Folgen heißt es, die Völker hätten solches getan; Israel jedoch wird dazu aufgefordert, in den Satzungen des Herrn zu wandeln und nicht in denen der Völker. Wie "Unzucht" bei Paulus und in frühjüdischen Texten als exemplarisches heidnisches Laster gelten konnte, hat E. Reinmuth, *Gesetz und Geist: Studien zu Voraussetzungen und Inhalt der paulinischen Paränese* (ThA 44; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985) herausgearbeitet.

¹³ J. Willits, "Context", 110, vermutet "that Paul might have read Leviticus 18:5 in concert with or even through the lens of later Jewish tradition", was vor allem hinsichtlich der "expanded eschatological significance" der Stelle von Bedeutung sei. Unter Berufung auf Ez 20, Neh 9:29 und CD 3:16 (112-117) rekonstruiert er ein "redemptive historical framework of Exile and Restoration" (117), von dem aus er den Versuch unternimmt, Gal 3:12 in seinem Kontext genauer zu verstehen. Dabei trifft er jedoch die m. E. problematische Entscheidung, Lev 18:5 als "a conceptual whole designating the pre-restoration condition of Israel" (119) zu lesen: "Paul states that the law is from the 'thing' that is represented or implied by the Leviticus 18:5 clause ('the one who does those things will live by them')" (118). Lev 18:5 wird so zur Chiffre eines "unrealised covenantal potential" (120), das nicht mehr in den normalen Lesefluss integriert werden kann; Willits übersetzt 3:12b "*but the Law is from (ἀλλ') 'the one who does those things will live by them'*" (118). Diese Lesart lässt sich zwar im Kontext des Schemas zweier Zeitalter ("age of *realised* covenant potential" und "age of *unrealised* potential", 122) plausibel machen, aber nicht im Kontext des paulinischen Textabschnittes, in dem es nicht den Eindruck macht, als wäre das Zitat aus Lev 18:5 dem Lesefluss als Chiffre enthoben. In 3:12 wie in 3:11 führen die zitierten Abschnitte jeweils paulinische Satzanfänge weiter, ohne eine Bruchkante zu produzieren, die eine veränderte Lesewahrnehmung hervorrufen würde.

Paulus wird der Zusammenhang dieser Stelle aus der Tora sicher bewusst gewesen sein. Nimmt man die erste der beiden Beobachtungen hinzu, dann stellt das den Vers Lev 18:5 in ein bestimmtes Licht: Der das Gesetz bzw. die darin niedergelegten Vorschriften tut (ὁ ποιήσας αὐτά), wird (bzw. soll) *in* einem durch Gottes Weisung definierten, nach außen hin abgegrenzten Bereich leben: ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.¹⁴

Dass Paulus das Futur ζήσεται im eschatologischen Sinne gehört haben könnte,¹⁵ scheint in diesem Zusammenhang nicht besonders naheliegend;¹⁶ zudem würde Gal 3:12 so in unauflösliche Spannung zu 3:21 gebracht. Lebenszusagen wie in Lev 18:5 finden sich im AT auch an anderen Stellen (etwa Ez 33:15; Dtn 30:16; Spr 9:6; Am 5:4), ohne dass damit "ewiges" oder auf andere Weise eschatologisch qualifiziertes Leben gemeint zu sein scheint. Auch im Kontext von Gal 3:10-14 weist nichts auf "ewiges Leben" hin: Die Hinweise auf den (tödlichen) Fluch (Dtn 27:26; 21:23), die die beiden Schriftzitate über das *Leben* (Hab 2:4: ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται; Lev 18:5: ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς) rahmen (Gal 3:10, 13), konnotieren "leben" eher im Sinne von "am Leben bleiben".

Tatsächlich spricht also vieles dafür, dass Paulus Lev 18:5 als Hinweis auf einen durch κρίματα καὶ προστάγματα nach außen (d. h. von anderen

¹⁴ Dieses Verständnis von Lev 18:5 kommt dem Anliegen der "New Perspective on Paul" besonders entgegen (vgl. etwa das Gesetz als "Israel's protective boundary" bei Dunn, *Theology* 145). So ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass bereits Dunn (vgl. auch Anm. 10), *Galatians*, 176, darauf hingewiesen hat, dass "it is highly pertinent to note that in context Lev. xviii.2-5 emphasizes the distinctiveness of Israel's way of life from that of the surrounding nations". Leider enden jedoch mit dieser wichtigen Überlegung seine Ausführungen zu Gal 3:12, für die Auslegung des Verses wird diese Beobachtung nicht mehr fruchtbar gemacht.

¹⁵ So etwa (ohne Erklärung) Zeller, *Römer*, 186; vgl. auch F. Avemarie, *Tora und Leben: Untersuchungen zur Heilsbedeutung der Tora in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur* (TSAJ 55; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 105 Anm. 3.

¹⁶ Garlington, "Role Reversal", 103, zufolge ist der Begriff "Leben" hier "not eschatological or eternal as such" gemeint, ein "eschatological slant" sei aber im Bereich des Möglichen. Dunn, *Theology*, 152-153, hat anhand etlicher Stellen aus der Wirkungsgeschichte von Lev 18:5 m. E. überzeugend nachgewiesen, dass Lev 18:5 in frühjüdischer Zeit im Sinne einer "Lebensweise" (und nicht im Sinne ewigen Lebens) verstanden wurde. Ein eschatologisch zugespitztes Verständnis der Stelle kommt oft zustande, indem כח bzw. ἐν αὐτοῖς völlig unter den Teppich gekehrt wird, so dass aus Lev 18:5 eine abstrakte Aussage über zukünftiges Leben wird (etwa bei Martyn, "Contradiction", 469 Anm. 8: "Lev 18:5 says literally that the observer of the Law will live"). Hier gilt: Paulus hätte sein Zitat aus Lev 18:5 vor ἐν αὐτοῖς enden lassen können; da er es nicht getan hat, müssen auch diese beiden Worte in die Interpretation des Zitates selbstverständlich mit einbezogen werden.

Völkern) *abgegrenzten Bereich* gelesen hat, *in dem* der leben wird bzw. soll, der das in der göttlichen Weisung Angeordnete tut. Die Verwendung, die Paulus diesem Vers in Gal 3:12 und Röm 10:5 hat angedeihen lassen, weist darauf hin, dass er ἡ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς nicht (primär) als *Lebenszusage* verstanden hat, sondern eher als *Aussage*, die für die weisungstreuen Israeliten die Abgrenzung eines von Gottes Vorschriften geprägten Lebensbereiches konstatiert. Das bedeutet, dass Paulus Lev 18:5 weniger für einen bestimmten Heilsweg als Schriftbeweis in Anspruch nimmt denn als Beleg dafür, dass die vom Gesetz geprägte Lebensweise der Israeliten in deren Abgrenzung von anderen Völkern resultiert.

2. Wie verwendet Paulus Lev 18:5 in Gal 3:12?

Dass die, die ἐκ πίστεως sind, mit dem gläubigen Abraham zusammen gesegnet werden,¹⁷ führt Paulus mit vier Schriftzitaten aus, die über ein komplexes Geflecht aus Stichwortverbindungen¹⁸ miteinander in Beziehung stehen.

Dieses Beziehungsgeflecht lässt sich wie folgt darstellen:

- (1) Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν [τοῖς]...¹⁹ τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά (Dtn 27:26)
- (2) ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως [ζήσεται] (Hab 2:4)
- (3) ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ [ζήσεται] ἐν αὐτοῖς²⁰ (Lev 18:5)
- (4) Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου (Dtn 21:23)

¹⁷ Dass dieser Gedanke den Horizont von 3:10-14 darstellt, wird daran deutlich, dass er in 3:14 am Abschluss der Argumentation noch einmal rekapituliert wird.

¹⁸ Paulus ist hier offensichtlich gemäß der jüdischen Schriftauslegungsmethode "Gezerah shawah" vorgegangen, der zufolge verschiedene Schriftstellen durch je gemeinsame Stichworte in einen Deutungszusammenhang gebracht werden können.

¹⁹ Die Bezeichnung dessen, worin "geblieben" werden soll (γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου) stammt aus Dtn 28:58. Dass es sich bei dem ersten der vier Schriftworte um ein Kombinationszitat handelt, zeigt, dass Paulus in Deutungshorizonten aus mehreren Schriftstellen gedacht hat.

²⁰ Hier lässt Paulus, anders als in Röm 10:5, gegenüber der LXX das Wort ἄνθρωπος aus; darin mag sich schon niedergeschlagen haben, dass es ihm nicht so sehr um den *Menschen* als "Täter" der göttlichen Weisung geht wie um das *Leben* bzw. die Lebensweise, die in Lev 18:5 zum Ausdruck kommt (s. u. Anm. 25).

Lev 18:5 ist auf doppelte Weise in die Schriftargumentation eingebunden. Dabei lassen sich folgende Aufschlüsse über die Deutung des Zitates gewinnen: (1) + (3) Die Verbindung zu Dtn 27:26 wird durch die Wendung ποιῆσαι αὐτά hergestellt; beiden Zitate gemeinsam ist auch die Nennung eines bestimmten Bereiches, in dem geblieben bzw. gelebt wird (oder werden soll). Stellt man beide Schriftworte in einen Deutungszusammenhang, so wird das in Lev 18:5 dargestellte "Leben in dem durch göttliche Weisung geprägten Bereich", das dadurch gekennzeichnet ist, dass das in dieser Weisung Vorgeschiedene "getan wird", damit unter die Drohung des Fluches gestellt. Verfolgt man die *paulinische* Argumentation, die aus dieser Zusammenstellung gewonnen wurde, so ergibt sich folgendes Bild: Die aus Glauben (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως) werden gesegnet mit dem gläubigen Abraham (3:9); dies wird bekräftigt (γάρ) mit der umgekehrten Zuordnung, dass οἱ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου unter dem Fluch sind. Letzteres wird damit begründet, dass gemäß der Schrift jeder verflucht ist, der nicht *alles*²¹ einhält, was im Gesetz geschrieben ist (3:10). So leuchtet auch unmittelbar ein, dass *im Gesetz* bzw. im Bereich des Gesetzes vor Gott keiner gerecht werden kann (3:11).

Das in 3:12 angesprochene "Leben im (Bereich des) Gesetz(es)" fällt damit unter den Schatten des Fluches, der die in diesen Bereich Gehörigen ständig bedroht, *wenn* sie nicht allen Anordnungen entsprechen, die im Buch des Gesetzes geschrieben stehen.

(2) + (3) Hab 2:4 und Lev 18:5 haben das Stichwort ζήσεται gemeinsam. Das in Aussicht gestellte Leben wird dabei jeweils näher qualifiziert als Leben *aus Glauben* bzw. *im Gesetz*.²² Der Kontext macht deutlich, dass

²¹) Die beiden Schriftworte, die hier zu einem Kombinationszitat zusammengestellt wurden, sind durch "alles tun, was im Gesetz ist", miteinander verbunden. Dass dieses Moment im Gal eine besondere Rolle spielt, bezeugt auch 5:3 (zu dem 5:14 durch die Unterscheidung von ὅλος ὁ νόμος und ὁ πᾶς νόμος nicht in Widerspruch steht!). Paulus scheint hier also tatsächlich von einer perfektionistisch gedachten Gesetzesobervanz her zu argumentieren. Ob dies als polemische Zuspitzung zu verstehen ist oder die tatsächlichen praktischen Forderungen des Paulus oder seiner Gegner dokumentiert, kann hier nicht weiter verfolgt werden; ebenso muss offen bleiben, ob sich die im Bereich des Gesetzes Befindlichen den Fluch zuziehen, weil sie das Gesetz gar nicht in seiner Gesamtheit befolgen *könnten*, oder weil sie es de facto nicht *tun*.

²²) Auch wenn wörtlich nicht ἐν νόμῳ im Zitat steht, so kann mit ἐν αὐτοῖς doch nichts anderes gemeint sein. Der Wortlaut eines Zitates ist eben nur bedingt flexibel; es zeigen jedoch sowohl der Kontext von Lev 18:1-5 als auch der Deutungszusammenhang mit Dtn 27:26 (bzw. 28:58) und die paulinische Hinführung zu dem Zitat über das "Leben" mit ἐν νόμῳ (im Singular, ebenso in Röm 10:5), dass Paulus ἐν αὐτοῖς im Sinne von ἐν νόμῳ verstanden wissen will. Dass er den Plural αὐτοῖς beibehalten hat, ist vermutlich als Anspielung auf die in 3:10 erwähnten ἔργα νόμου zu verstehen.

hier zwei Arten von Leben, zwei Lebensweisen²³ einander *entgegengesetzt* werden sollen: Zwischen beiden Zitaten meint Paulus, ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως—mit dem soeben (mit Hab 2:4) erwähnten ζῆν ἐκ πίστεως ist das Gesetz keinesfalls gleichzusetzen, ganz im Gegenteil.²⁴

Was macht aber den Unterschied zwischen beiden Lebensweisen aus? Hier schafft der Kontext klare Aussagen: Das durch Glauben geprägte Leben wird (mit 3:9, 14) dem Segen zugeordnet, das am Gesetz und seinen Vorschriften ausgerichtete Leben (durch 3:10, 13) dem Fluch. Bei näherer Betrachtung setzt Paulus hier jedoch mit Hilfe der beiden Zitate noch einen zusätzlichen Akzent: Er qualifiziert die Lebensweisen nicht nur durch "Glauben" einerseits und "Gesetz" andererseits, sondern stellt die Prägung des Lebens durch eine dieser beiden Größen durch einen gezielten Präpositionalgebrauch auch noch in ihren jeweiligen Eigenarten heraus—dem Leben *im* Gesetz steht das Leben *aus* dem Glauben²⁵ gegenüber!²⁶

Die Gegenüberstellung von ἐκ πίστεως und ἐν νόμῳ ist wohl eine Schlüsselaussage von 3:11-12.²⁷ So ist die vom Gesetz geprägte Existenzweise

²³) Auch das Zitat von Hab 2:4 lässt hier keinerlei eschatologische Konnotation erkennen. Der Gesamtzusammenhang des Gal (im Besonderen die in Kapitel 3 schon präsente Geistesthematik und die daraus abgeleitete Paränese ab 5:1) weist sogar eher darauf hin, dass Paulus das Zitat im Sinne einer *Existenzweise* (die nicht nur Lebensführung ist, sondern auch ein bestimmtes Selbstverständnis umfasst), fruchtbar machen will.

²⁴) Dass Paulus dabei zwei Aussagen auseinander reißt und einander gegenüberstellt, die dem jüdischen Selbstverständnis nach zusammengehören, hat Dunn, "Works", 125-126, gezeigt; vgl. auch H.D. Betz, *Der Galaterbrief: Ein Kommentar zum Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinden in Galatien* (München: Kaiser, 1988) 267.

²⁵) Zwar ist ἐκ πίστεως überhaupt die im paulinischen Sprachgebrauch übliche Formulierung (s. u. Anm. 27), aber bei anderer Aussageabsicht als der Vorliegenden kann Paulus auch von einem Leben ἐν πίστει schreiben (Gal 2:20).

²⁶) Schon diese Gegenüberstellung zeigt, dass das bisher in der Auslegung weithin vernachlässigte ἐν αὐτοῖς weitaus stärker zu gewichten ist als etwa das in älteren Kommentaren oft besonders hervorgehobene ποιήσας, das als polemische Spitze gegen das "Tun" des Gesetzes interpretiert wurde (etwa bei F. Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief* [HThK 9; Freiburg u. a.: Herder, 5., erw. Auflage 1988] 229-230; Zeller, *Römer*, 186; W. Radl, *Galaterbrief* [SKK NT 9; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985] 51).—Zumindest in Ansätzen ist die Unterscheidung beider Präpositionen auch bei Dunn, *Galatians*, 175, im Blick: "[T]he former [Hab 2:4] talks of a relationship lived out on the basis of faith, whereas the latter [Lev 18:5] has the more limited purview of doing the law and of living within its terms." Ders., "Works", 125-126, deutet den unterschiedlichen Präpositionalgebrauch als Kontrastierung, ohne dabei jedoch auf den Sinngehalt von ἐκ πίστεως weiter einzugehen.

²⁷) Sie entspricht auch weitestgehend dem Sprachgebrauch des Gal insgesamt: πίστις wird fast durchgängig mit ἐκ kombiniert (Gal 2:16; 3:2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22, 24; 5:5); νόμος

gerade durch das Aufrufen von Lev 18:5 als "Leben in einem bestimmten, abgegrenzten Bereich" akzentuiert; durch die Verbindung mit Dtn 27:26 wird zusätzlich suggeriert, dass in diesem Bereich der Fluch herrscht. Auch die Bilder, in denen Paulus das Gesetz in 3:23 beschreibt, sprechen diese Sprache: Die gesetzesbezogene Existenzweise wird definiert als Verwahrung und Verschließung.

Das vom Glauben geprägte Leben erscheint demgegenüber von Freiheit geprägt, hier geht es nicht um Abgrenzung oder einen bestimmten Bereich. Ζῆν ἐκ πίστεως erscheint als Lebensweise, die den Glauben als ihren Ausgangspunkt nimmt und von dort aus aktiv wird—auch im Sinne der in der Paränese geschilderten Freiheit zum Leben im Geist (5:1-25).

Betont wird die in 3:11-12 herausgearbeitete Differenz zwischen "Leben *im* (abgegrenzten Bereich des) Gesetz(es)" und "Leben *aus* (dem) Glauben (heraus)" durch die Weiterführung des Gedankenganges in 3:13 (vgl. 4:5): Χριστὸς ἡμῶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου. Für die Befreiung aus der Verhaftung an den Fluch des Gesetzes,²⁸ die hier im Bild des Freikaufens dargestellt wird, ist das ἐκ wesentlich.

In Gal 3:11-12 macht Paulus Lev 18:5 also fruchtbar im Rahmen einer kontrastierenden Gegenüberstellung mit Hab 2:4: Welche Existenzweise fordert der Glaube, und welche Existenzweise fordert das Gesetz? Während der Glaube sozusagen eine "Basis" ist, *aus* der *heraus* gelebt werden kann,²⁹ geht mit dem "Leben im Gesetz" die Isolation eines bestimmten Bereiches einher, zu dem auch gehört, dass sich die "*innen*" gegen die Völker außerhalb dieses Bereiches abgrenzen.

mit ἐν (3:11; 5:4). Mit ἐξ formuliert Paulus, wenn er von den ἐργα νόμου schreibt; jedoch ohne dass ein Sein ἐξ ἔργων νόμου eine eigenständige soteriologische Qualität gewinnen würde (verneint in 2:16; als nicht zutreffende Alternative zu ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως in 3:2, 5; im Irrealis in 3:18, 21). Einzig in 3:10 erscheint ein Leben ἐξ ἔργων νόμου als reale Möglichkeit.

²⁸⁾ Zwar heißt es an dieser Stelle, dass die Befreiung vom *Fluch* des Gesetzes erlöst, nicht vom *Gesetz*; die in 3:22-4:7 verwendeten Bilder machen es jedoch wahrscheinlich, dass Paulus auch Letzteres im Sinn hatte.

²⁹⁾ Ähnlich auch Dunn, *Theology*, 374: Hab 2:4 definiere, worauf die Bundesgerechtigkeit *basiere*. Lev 18:5 hingegen beschreibt Dunn zufolge, auf welche Weise diese Bundesgerechtigkeit dann ausgelebt werde. Ein so komplementäres Verständnis der beiden Stellen erscheint im Horizont der von Dunn rekonstruierten Bundestheologie jedoch plausibler als im Kontext der kontrastierenden Gegenüberstellung beider Texte im Gal. Die kontrastierende Funktion der Überleitung von einem zum anderen Zitat wird bei Dunn, *Theology*, 153, deutlich heruntergespielt: ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως sei "simply an assertion that they have different functions within the divine dispensation of grace".

So ist "das Gesetz nicht *aus* Glauben" (3:12): Es schließt in einen bestimmten Bereich ein.

3. Wie verwendet Paulus Lev 18:5 in Röm 10:5?

Um die, denen Paulus das abgrenzende und abgegrenzte "Leben im Gesetz" vorwirft, geht es auch in Röm 10: um das Volk Israel. Eine Entgegensetzung von Leben *im* Gesetz und Leben *aus* Glauben lässt sich dem Text hier allerdings nicht entnehmen.³⁰ Gegenüber Gal 3:12 hat sich nicht nur der Kontext verändert, sondern auch die Gestalt des Zitates: Während Paulus in Gal 3:12 das Wort ἄνθρωπος offensichtlich entbehrlich war, wird in Röm 10:5 der vollständige Wortlaut der LXX übernommen.³¹

Wie im Gal findet sich das Zitat auch im Röm in einem Kontext, der von Schriftworten durchzogen ist (Dtn 9:4; 30:12-14 in 10:6-8; Jes 28:16 in 10:11; Joel 3:5 in 10:13). Die Anordnung der Zitate erfolgt jedoch anders als in Gal 3:10-13: Die beiden letzten Schriftworte gehören unübersehbar zusammen (πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται / πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται),³² scheinen aber zu den beiden ersten nicht in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang zu stehen.

Auch hier präsentiert sich Lev 18:5 jedoch als Teil eines "Paares" zweier Schriftworte, die zur Verdeutlichung eines bestimmten Kontrastes heran-

³⁰) Überhaupt sind die präpositionalen Zuordnungen ἐν νόμῳ und ἐκ πίστεως, wie sie sich im Gal zumindest schwerpunktmäßig nachweisen lassen, im Röm deutlich vielschichtiger; dem entspricht die weitaus komplexere Darstellung vor allem des νόμου.

³¹) Textkritisch birgt Röm 10:5 einige Schwierigkeiten. Für die hier behandelte Fragestellung ist vor allem die Variante ἐν αὐτῇ (anstelle von ἐν αὐτοῖς) in Erwägung zu ziehen; dann ginge es nicht um ein Leben in den Vorschriften des Gesetzes, sondern um ein Leben in der Gesetzesgerechtigkeit. Auf der Ebene innerer Gründe ließe sich durchaus plausibel machen, dass Paulus das LXX-Zitat in abgewandelter Form eingearbeitet hat, wohingegen spätere Tradenten darauf bedacht waren, den Wortlaut der LXX wieder herzustellen. Der äußeren Bezeugung nach fallen jedoch die ersten Textzeugen (N* A B) in eine Zeit, deren Paulusrezeption (wie sie etwa von Augustinus bekannt ist) eine Verdeutlichung wie die mit ἐν αὐτῇ intendierte durchaus veranlassen haben könnte. Auffällig ist auch, dass N² gegenüber N* wieder in ἐν αὐτοῖς korrigiert; davon, dass sich ein paulinisches ἐν αὐτῇ gegenüber der LXX-Fassung durchgesetzt hätte, kann also keine Rede sein. Höchstes Gewicht muss schließlich der Bezeugung von ἐν αὐτοῖς in P⁴⁶ zukommen. Es ist also davon auszugehen, dass hier *nicht* von Leben in Gesetzesgerechtigkeit, sondern in den *Gesetzesvorschriften* die Rede ist.

³²) Der Parallelität beider Aussagen hat Paulus offensichtlich auch noch nachgeholfen, indem er zu Jes 28:16 LXX ein einleitendes πᾶς hinzugefügt und das Verb ins Futur gesetzt hat.

gezogen werden: In Lev 18:5 geht es um die δικαιοσύνη ἐκ [τοῦ] νόμου, in Dtn 9:4; 30:12-14 um die ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη.³³

Dass die Erklärung aus dem Gal hier nicht greift, zeigt sich schon an der parallelen Formulierung einer δικαιοσύνη ἐκ νόμου und ἐκ πίστεως.³⁴ Dennoch ist kaum anzunehmen, dass Paulus Lev 18:5 im Röm völlig anders verstanden und gebraucht haben sollte als im Gal.

Verkompliziert wird der Befund im Röm durch die Interpretationsprobleme, die der Kontext von 10:5 stellt: Auf die Bedeutung von τέλος νόμου in 10:4 kann an dieser Stelle³⁵ nicht näher eingegangen werden, da die Festlegung auf die eine oder andere Wortbedeutung die Auslegung der folgenden Passagen (die schließlich dem νόμος entnommen sind!) nicht unwesentlich präjudizieren würde.³⁶

Nicht auf den ersten Blick einsichtig zeigt sich auch das zweite Zitat, wiederum (vgl. Gal 3:10) ein Kombinationszitat aus zwei Dtn-Stellen. Die Verbindung zwischen Dtn 9:4 und 30:12-14 kam wohl über die Wendung ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου zustande. Während sich der hier nur in Anspielung auffindbare Vers Dtn 9:4 jedoch sehr gut als Verdeutlichung der δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως verstehen ließe (die Angesprochenen sollen die Ankunft im Land nicht auf ihre *eigene* δικαιοσύνη zurückführen, vgl. Röm 10:3!), liegt der Bezug von 30:12-14 zu diesem Thema nicht sofort offen. Dass dieser Schrifttext als Argumentationsmittel nicht selbstevident sein soll, ist schon darin zu sehen, dass Paulus ihn um kurze interpretative Bemerkungen ergänzt hat, auf deren Ziel noch zurückzukommen sein wird.

An Gal 3:12 passim war zu sehen, dass Paulus bei der argumentativen Verwendung von Lev 18:5 der Präposition ἐν eine nicht unwesentliche

³³⁾ Ein Kontrast wird mitunter auch darin gesehen, dass Paulus für das erste Zitat die Schriftlichkeit (Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει), für das zweite aber den mündlichen Charakter (οὕτως λέγει) als "Stimme der Glaubensgerechtigkeit" (P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer* [NTD 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998] 141; ähnlich J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* [WBC 38; Dallas: Word Books, 1988] 600; M. Theobald, *Römerbrief Kapitel 1-11* [SKK NT 6/1; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992] 284) betont. Ein solcher Akzent ist durchaus möglich, zu beachten ist jedoch, dass Paulus diese verbalen Zuordnungen an anderer Stelle völlig unspezifisch verwendet (1 Kor 9:8-9).

³⁴⁾ Eine δικαιοσύνη ἐκ νόμου kennt bekanntermaßen auch Phil 3:9.

³⁵⁾ S. u. Anm. 41.

³⁶⁾ Als Beispiel hierfür ist Vos, "Antinomie", 268, zu nennen: Er erwägt, ob nicht mit dem als "Ende" verstandenen τέλος von 10:4 eine "abrogatio legis" gegeben sei. Dann müsste man allerdings fragen, warum sich diese abrogatio nur auf Lev 18:5 erstrecken sollte und nicht auch auf Dtn 30:12-14.

Bedeutung zuzusammenfassen: Die Kombination der Zitate aus Hab 2:4 und Lev 18:5 erfolgt im Sinne einer Kontrastierung von ζήσεται ἐκ und ζήσεται ἐν. Die in Röm 10:5-8 gepaarten Schriftworte hingegen gebrauchen, obwohl es auch hier um einen Kontrast geht, beide die Präposition ἐν; besonderes Augenmerk verdient dabei, dass auch die Zitatkombination aus Dtn 9:4 und 30:12-14 über eine ἐν-Wendung zustande gekommen ist (ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου).

Der inhaltliche Kontrast zwischen beiden Aussagen kommt hier auf andere Weise zustande: Während Lev 18:5 in Röm 10:5 das Leben des Menschen (ἄνθρωπος) *im Gesetz* beschreibt, das nach 10:3 dem Versuch korrespondiert, die *eigene* Gerechtigkeit aufzurichten, handelt Dtn 30:12-14 umgekehrt von dem *Gesetz im Menschen*.³⁷

Dass Paulus mit der Vorstellung eines "Gesetzes im Menschen" umgeht, ist auch in Röm 2:15, 29; 7:22-23 zu sehen; in 10:6-9 erhält diese Idee allerdings einen weitergehenden Akzent: Das Gebot (Dtn 30:11: דְּבַר / ἐντολή) bzw. Wort (30:14: דְּבַר / ῥῆμα) wird durch die interpretierenden Bemerkungen des Paulus auf Christus hin gedeutet (τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν / τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν), so dass er folgern kann, das Wort ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου³⁸ sei das Wort des Glaubens,³⁹ dessen Inhalt Jesu Herr-Sein und seine Auferstehung sind (10:8-9).

In diesem Sinne will Paulus in 10:6-13 die ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη charakterisieren (die der δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ in 10:3 entspricht): Sie impliziert nicht, wie die δικαιοσύνη ἐκ νόμου, dass der Mensch *im Gesetz*, d. h. in einem durch Vorschriften und Satzungen definierten abgeschlossenen Bereich, lebt,⁴⁰ sondern vielmehr, dass *das* Gebot bzw. Wort Gottes,⁴¹

³⁷⁾ Dabei macht auch der weitere (ursprüngliche) Textzusammenhang des zitierten Ausschnittes deutlich, dass dieser Text wesentlich die Frage nach dem Ort des Gesetzes thematisiert: Das Wort ist nicht ferne, nicht jenseits des Meeres etc. Dass es hier darum gehe, "how easy it is to obey the law" (Dunn, *Theology*, 640), ist nicht unzutreffend, bezeichnet jedoch eher die Folge dessen, wie nahe die göttliche Weisung dem Menschen gekommen ist (Dtn 30:6-8).

³⁸⁾ Den Zusatz der LXX ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου hat Paulus nicht mit übernommen.

³⁹⁾ Dass jedoch "when someone believes in the Christian gospel, that person is thereby 'keeping the law'" (so N.T. Wright, "The Law in Romans 2", *Paul and the Mosaic Law* [hg. von J.D.G. Dunn; WUNT 89; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996] 131-150, hier 137), ist vom Wortlaut der Stelle nicht gedeckt.

⁴⁰⁾ Vgl. ἐν νόμῳ in Röm 2:12, 20, 23; 3:19; 7:23.

⁴¹⁾ Es ist zu beachten, dass Paulus an dieser Stelle nicht mit dem Begriff νόμος operiert; er setzt also nicht das Gesetz als solches mit Christus gleich, sondern eher dessen Inhalt, was

nämlich das Wort des Glaubens und der Predigt von Jesus (vgl. 10:8-9), *im Menschen* ist. Es gehört wesentlich zur δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ, dass sie den Menschen von innen heraus erneuert: ἐν ἡμῖν wird erfüllt, was das Gesetz als δικαίωμα gesetzt hat (8:4).

4. Zusammenfassung

Paulus hat Lev 18:5 nicht in der Absicht in die Argumentationen des Gal und des Röm eingebracht, einen Irrtum der Schrift aufzuweisen. Vielmehr dürfte er die Formulierung ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς (in Kenntnis ihres ursprünglichen Kontextes) als Hinweis auf eine bestimmte *Lebensweise* des (israelitischen) ποιήσας αὐτά verstanden haben, der sich von der unzuchtigen Lebensweise heidnischer Völker absetzen will, indem er *in* den Vorschriften und Satzungen der göttlichen Weisung lebt.

Einem so verstandenen "Leben im Gesetz" kontrastiert er in Gal 3:11-12 ein "Leben *aus* dem Glauben": Während das Gesetz von den Menschen eine Daseinsweise fordert, die sich innerhalb eines bestimmten, nach außen hin abgegrenzten Bereiches vollzieht, kann der Glaube *Ausgangspunkt* und Grundlage menschlichen Lebens und Handelns (vgl. Gal 5) sein.

In Röm 10:5 hingegen stellt Paulus dem "Menschen im Gesetz" aus Lev 18:5 das "Gesetz (bzw. eher Gebot) im Menschen" aus Dtn 30:12-14 gegenüber, das er in eigenständiger Textinterpretation auf Christus hin deutet. Während der Mensch, der in dem durch das Gesetz abgegrenzten Bereich lebt, auf die Aufrichtung seiner eigenen Gerechtigkeit bedacht ist, zeigt sich in dem Gebot Gottes, das im Menschen ist, die Gerechtigkeit Gottes, die den Menschen von innen heraus erneuert.

In beide Textzusammenhänge wird Lev 18:5 in einer Weise eingebracht, die die Präposition ἐν als wesentlichen Bestandteil des Textes heraushebt, um die abgegrenzte Lebensweise der Israeliten zu beschreiben (Kontinuität); dabei stehen einander einmal zwei über ἐν und ἐκ kontrastierte Existenzweisen gegenüber, einmal zwei in entgegengesetzter Richtung verlaufende ἐν-Relationen (Diskontinuität), die jeweils die Perspektiven der vom Christusglauben und göttlicher Gerechtigkeit bestimmten Existenz kenntlich machen.

wiederum für 10:4 eher nahe legen würde, τέλος im Sinne von "Ziel" zu verstehen denn als "Ende". Auch die christologische Auslegung von Dtn 30:12-14 weist m. E. deutlich in diese Richtung.

The Anonymity of the New Testament History Books: A Stylistic Device in the Context of Greco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature

Armin D. Baum

Gießen / Leuven

Abstract

The anonymity of the NT historical books should not be regarded as peculiar to early Christian literature nor should it be interpreted in the context of Greco-Roman historiography. The striking fact that the NT Gospels and Acts do not mention their authors' names has its literary counterpart in the anonymity of the OT history books, whereas OT anonymity itself is rooted in the literary conventions of the Ancient Near East. Just as in the OT, where the authors of books that belonged to the genre of wisdom and prophetic literature were usually named while historical works were written anonymously, only the NT letters and the Apocalypse were published under their authors' names while the narrative literature of the NT remained anonymous. The authorial intent of the Gospels' anonymity can also be deduced from its ancient Near Eastern and OT background. Unlike the Greek or Roman historian who, among other things, wanted to earn praise and glory for his literary achievements from both his contemporaries and posterity, the history writer in the Ancient Near East sought to disappear as much as possible behind the material he presented and to become its invisible mouthpiece. By adopting the stylistic device of anonymity from OT historiography the Evangelists of the NT implied that they regarded themselves as comparatively insignificant mediators of a subject matter that deserved the full attention of the readers. The anonymity of the Gospels is thus rooted in a deep conviction concerning the ultimate priority of their subject matter.

Keywords

anonymity, authorship, gospel superscriptions, Greco-Roman historiography, Near Eastern historiography

"The absence of the author's name in Luke's prologue remains mysterious to me."¹ With this statement at the beginning of his analysis of Luke 1:1-4

¹ *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (EKK 3/1; Zürich: Benziger, 1989) I, 33; compare S.M.

F. Bovon points out a critical problem that pertains to the other two Synoptics, the Book of Acts, and the Gospel of John as well. All five historical books of the New Testament, including those without a prologue, were written and published anonymously. However, this obvious fact has not sparked much interest among New Testament scholars. The undoubtedly secondary Gospel superscriptions have, in the wake of M. Hengel's seminal work, been thoroughly scrutinized with regard to their original wording, date of origin and function.² Yet only M. Wolter has developed a reasonably thorough answer to the question as to why the Gospels were originally composed without superscriptions and in particular without any mention of the authors' names. Regarding Luke-Acts, Wolter points to Luke 1:2 and makes the case that Luke's work was written anonymously because, from the author's perspective, the apostolic tradition guaranteed "its authenticity and therefore its binding authority."³ Taking my starting point from Wolter's previous study I will try to interpret the anonymity of the New Testament historical books against the background of the literary conventions of history writing in ancient literature.

1. The Anonymity of the Historical Books in New Testament Research

a. *The Evidence*

While most New Testament letters bear the names of their (purported) authors (James, Jude, Paul, Peter, or at least "the Elder") the authors of the historical books do not reveal their names. The superscriptions that include personal names ("Gospel according to Matthew" etc.) are clearly secondary.

Praeder, "The Problem of First Person Narration in Acts," *NT* 29 (1987) 193-218, esp. 214, and A.J.M. Wedderburn, "The 'We'-Passages in Acts: On the Horns of a Dilemma," *ZNW* 93 (2002) 78-98, esp. 81, with regard to the Acts of the Apostles; D.E. Aune, "Anonymity," *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Westminster: Knox, 2003) 35: "the subject has been almost completely neglected."

² See the recent contribution by S. Petersen, "Die Evangelienüberschriften und die Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons," *ZNW* 97 (2006) 250-274.

³ "Die anonymen Schriften des Neuen Testaments. Annäherungsversuch an ein literarisches Phänomen," *ZNW* 79 (1988) 1-16, esp. 14-15. J. Zmijewski, "Anonymität," *LThK* 1 (31993) 702-704, has accepted his approach.

The author of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, for instance, who himself opened his work with an explicit statement of authorship, took a very different approach. He opened his book with the words: "These are the secret words which the living Jesus spoke, and (which) Didymus Judas Thomas wrote."⁴ In contrast, the five historical books of the New Testament were written anonymously.

C.-J. Thornton holds a view that differs from this consensus. As a result of his narratological analysis he concludes that at least Luke-Acts cannot have been published anonymously but must have mentioned the name of the author in its title. Thornton points to the "we" passages in Acts and assumes "that the narrator of a first person narrative has to be identifiable for the reader." Furthermore, he takes for granted that the readers of Luke or Acts could only have known the author's name if it had been part of the original text.⁵ Yet, the original readers could also have known the author's identity by personal relationship or oral tradition. But above all we have to take into account that Luke's name is missing in almost all ancient manuscripts of Acts (as well as in the early tradition) and occurs comparatively late.⁶

The anonymity of the New Testament historical books is especially striking when we consider those works that have prologues. Only the two books of Luke-Acts (Luke 1:1-4; Acts 1:1ff) have a conventional prologue in which the author provides information about the content and purpose of his work in the first person singular. The so-called Johannine prologue (John 1:1-18) contains an authorial "we" (1:14.16), yet differs strongly from the common type of historical prologues. In its conclusion John's Gospel has a statement about its purpose (John 20,31: "in order that you may believe..."; cf. 19:35), but without any "I" or "we" of the author. The two final verses of the Fourth Gospel in which both "we" (John 21:24) and "I" (John 21:25) occur should probably be interpreted as editorial statements about the author of the book and not as words of the author himself.⁷ *Whenever New Testament narrators address their readers, whether in the first person or in some other way, they consistently remain anonymous.*

⁴ Translation according to B. Metzger in *Synopsis Quatuor Evangeliorum*. Ed. K. Aland (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ¹³1985) 517.

⁵ *Der Zeuge des Zeugen. Lukas als Historiker der Paulusreisen* (WUNT 56; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991) 142-148.

⁶ See J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1998) 56-58, who regards the title "Deeds of the Apostles" as original.

⁷ Compare M. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage. Ein Lösungsversuch* (WUNT 67; Tübingen: Mohr, 1993) 224-225.

b. *The Discussion*

For what reason did the New Testament narrators consistently abstain from mentioning their names? This question has rarely been addressed by biblical scholars, and if so, quite different answers have been developed.

(1) The distinguished historian E. Meyer compared the anonymity of the Fourth Gospel with Xenophon's claim that his *Anabasis* was written by a certain Themistogenes.⁸ Meyer thus interpreted the phenomenon of anonymous historical books in the New Testament in the context of Greek historiography. However, Greek (and Roman) historians published their works almost exclusively under their own names. Xenophon's anonymous (or better: pseudonymously published) work forms a special case that can not be regarded as representative of the conventions of Greco-Roman historiography.

(2) A.J.M. Wedderburn assumes that „the anonymity of the Gospels may serve to emphasize the complete dependence of their authors on tradition, rather than on any firsthand experience.”⁹ While this interpretation certainly applies to the Synoptic Gospels, it fails when it comes to the likewise anonymous Gospel of John and the Book of Acts, inasmuch the authors of these two books appear to claim to have witnessed at least some of the events they describe (see John 1:14; 13:23; 21:20.24 and the “we” passages in Acts).¹⁰ Furthermore, the question arises as to whether the assumed relationship between the New Testament Gospels and their sources actually may be regarded as unique or whether an anonymous handling of traditions and source material was conventional in at least some types of ancient literature.

(3) M. Wolter has interpreted the namelessness of the New Testament historical books as a specifically Christian phenomenon. He argues that in all the anonymous writings of the New Testament Jesus Christ is the one and only personal authority; besides him “every human authority should fall silent”. According to Wolter, this is the reason why the New Testament Gospels were published without mentioning their authors' names. In the Gospel of John, the Johannine Jesus preaches “himself through his signs and also, of course, through his speeches.” Likewise, in Mark's book “Jesus himself is the instance that authorizes the Gospel” and by this “the

⁸) E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart: Cotta, ^{4/5}1924) I, 313.

⁹) “We'-Passages,” 96.

¹⁰) Compare M. Rese, “Das Selbstzeugnis des Johannesevangeliums über seinen Verfasser,” *ETbL* 72 (1996) 75-111; Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen*, 84-197.

individuality and authority of the author is completely surpassed and abolished.”¹¹ Nevertheless, it may be asked why Paul, who explicitly appeals to Jesus as the authority behind his message and theology (e.g. in Gal 1:1.11-12), did not write his letters anonymously? Why did he feel free to send his letters under his own name? And why was the Book of Acts written anonymously, although, unlike the Gospels, it did not relate the words and deeds of Jesus? It should be noted that this approach to the problem of anonymity interprets the New Testament history books as works *sui generis* and does not take into account its possible relationship to other kinds of anonymous historiography in the ancient world. It is self-evident that Wolter’s interpretation of anonymous Christian literature can by no means be applied to anonymous books from Greco-Roman or Near Eastern literature. A closer look at the history of Greco-Roman and Old Testament Jewish literature might offer valuable clues that could help us understand the phenomenon of literary anonymity more precisely.

2. The Name of the Author in Ancient Historiography

a. *The Name of the Author in Greco-Roman Historiography*

The work of a Greco-Roman historian was almost always preceded by a *prologue* in which he informed his readers about the content of his book. The fact that a classical author like Xenophon abstained from using a prologue and abruptly opened his *Hellenica* with the words μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα was probably due to the fact that this historical narrative started where the historical work of Thucydides had ended and was apparently meant as its direct sequel.¹² In any case, the beginning of Xenophon’s work was an exception to the rule. The absence of a prologue was usually considered as a departure from long established standards. Therefore, Lucian could write disapprovingly:

There are historians who “produce bodies without any heads—works lacking an introduction that begin at once with the narrative.”¹³

¹¹) “Anonymität,” 15.6-7.11-12.

¹²) Compare H.R. Breitenbach, “Xenophon von Athen,” *PRE* IX.A.2 (1967) 1569-2052, esp. 1670-1674.

¹³) Lucian, *De historia conscribenda* 23 (III 301,27-302,1 Macleod; translation according to LCL); compare G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* (Meisenheim:

Thus, the Jewish historian Josephus prefixed elaborate prologues to his *Belum Judaicum* and to his *Antiquitates* because he did not want his works to appear, in the eyes of his educated Hellenistic audience, like headless bodies.

At the beginning or end of his prologue the Greek historian would mention his name and his provenance.¹⁴ In the 6th century BC Hecataeus of Miletos began his historical work with the words: "Hecataeus of Miletos reports as follows. I write this, as it seems to be true to me."¹⁵ In the 5th century B.C. Herodotus, the father of Greek historiography, introduced his historical narrative with the words: "This is the demonstration of the investigation of Herodotus of Halicarnassus."¹⁶ And the opening sentence of Thucydides goes: "Thucydides of Athens has described the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians."¹⁷ Thucydides also concluded individual books of his historical work with a remark about the exact number of years that had passed in the war "that Thucydides has described."¹⁸ With this procedure, the name of the author could not escape the reader. Arrian, in his *Anabasis*, has consciously deviated from this practice by not giving his name in the prologue where he only mentioned his sources.¹⁹ Later in Book I he writes:

I need not write my name, for it is not at all unknown among men, nor my country nor my family...²⁰

Nevertheless, Arrian's *Anabasis* was not published anonymously, because it probably had the name 'Ἀπριανός in the title.²¹

Hain, 1956) 113-118; E. Herkommer, "Die Topoi in den Proömien der römischen Geschichtswerke," Diss. Tübingen 1968, 14-17, and see also *De historia conscribenda* 52-55.

¹⁴ Herkommer, "Die Topoi in den Proömien," 46-52; E. Schmalzriedt, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ. *Zur Frühgeschichte der Buchtitel* (München: Fink, 1970) 32-34; D. Earl, "Prologue-Form in Ancient Greek Historiography," *ANRW* I.2 (1972) 842-856, esp. 842-849; J.M. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: University Press, 1999) 271-275.

¹⁵ *FGH* 1 F 1 (I 7,32-33 Jacoby).

¹⁶ *I pr* (I 1,1 Rosén).

¹⁷ *I* 1,1 (Jones/Powell).

¹⁸ *I* 103,2 etc.

¹⁹ *I pr*. 1-3.

²⁰ *Anabasis* I 12,5 (I 28,20-22 Roos; translation according to LCL).

²¹ A.B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) I, 106.

Even Xenophon's *Anabasis*, in which the author reports about his own role as an officer in the campaign of Cyrus, is no exception. Although it appears to the modern reader to be anonymous, Xenophon himself elsewhere calls it the work of a certain Themistogenes of Syracuse.²² Probably he published it under this pseudonym. Plutarch identified the true reason why Xenophon did not publish his *Anabasis* under his own name: Xenophon recorded "that it was Themistogenes the Syracusan who had compiled an account of them (*i.e.* Xenophon's successes), his purpose being to win greater credence for his narrative by referring to himself in the third person, thus favouring another with the glory of the authorship."²³

In accordance with Greco-Roman practice, the Jewish historian Josephus revealed his name in the first paragraph of his work on the Jewish War: "I—Josephus, son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest, who at the opening of the war myself fought against the Romans and in the sequel was perforce an onlooker—propose to provide the subject of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts."²⁴ And neither Jason of Cyrene, author of the main source of 2 Maccabees,²⁵ nor Justus of Tiberias, the rival of Josephus,²⁶ wrote their now lost historical works anonymously. The same is true of the early Jewish narrators Eupolemus (157/158 B.C.), Artapanus, Cleodemus Malchus und Theophilus (around 100 B.C.), who are all quoted by Eusebius in the 9th book of his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (from the lost writings of Alexander Polyhistor).²⁷ These Jewish historians also published their works under their own names according to the conventions of Greek and Roman historical literature.

Greco-Roman biographies were published under the names of their authors (Euripides, Isocrates, Lucian, Philo, Plutarch, Suetonius etc.) as well. Only the lives that belong to the genre of popular literature (1st to 4th century A.D.) were an exception: the *Vita Aesopi*, the *Vita Alexandri Magni* (later ascribed to Callisthenes), the somewhat more sophisticated

²²) *Hellenica* III 1,2.

²³) *De gloria Atheniensium* 345E (V/1 186 Frazier/Froidefond; translation according to LCL). For similar examples compare W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum. Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (HAW I/2; München: Beck, 1971) 30-31.

²⁴) *Bellum Judaicum* I 3 (translation according to H.St.J. Thackeray [LCL]).

²⁵) Compare 2 Macc 2:19-32.

²⁶) See Josephus, *Vita* 336-339.

²⁷) FGH 723, 726, 727, 733; compare M. Hengel, "Anonymität, Pseudepigraphie und 'literarische Fälschung' in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," *Judaica et Hellenistica* (Kleine Schriften 1; WUNT 90; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 196-251, esp. 199-200.

narrative *Lucius seu asinus* and the *Vita Secundi philosophi*. These biographies have not only a rather low and episodic style but also anonymity in common.²⁸

A special genre of historical writings was produced by the ancient “epitomisers.” They extracted short summaries from extensive historical writings without changing the wording of their literary source texts. In a vital contribution to this subject, I. Opelt has listed 42 historical epitomes.²⁹ Her list begins with the two-volume epitome probably extracted from Herodotus’ nine-volume history by Theopompus of Chios in the 4th century BC. And it ends with epitomes from the Christian era. Only 7 out of these 42 epitomes are anonymous; all the others were attributed to a certain author. An example is the excerpt of the now lost historical work of Pompeius Trogus that was handed down under the name of Justin (3rd century A.D.). On the basis of these observations we may conclude: *If a Hellenistic historian did not mention his name in (the prologue of) his work, he deviated from an ancient and widespread literary convention.*

b. The Anonymity of Old Testament Historiography

In contrast to the works of Greco-Roman historiography the Old Testament historical books are anonymous without exception.³⁰ The author’s name is never mentioned. Even the historical source texts to which the Old Testament narrators refer remain anonymous.³¹ The historical books of the Hebrew Bible are not named after their authors but after their introductory words (“In the beginning” etc. in the Pentateuch), after their content (Chronicles) or after their main characters: Joshua, Judges, etc. Later narrative works like Tobit, Judith or the Books of the Maccabees and other writings like the anonymous *Vitae Prophetarum*³² or Joseph and Aseneth have also been named after their main characters.³³

²⁸ W. Hansen, *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998) xi-xxiii; compare H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Volkliteratur* (Byzantinisches Handbuch II/3; München: Beck, 1971) 28-35.

²⁹ “Epitome,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 944-973, esp. 947-950.

³⁰ H. Cancik, “Geschichtsschreibung,” *NBL* 1 (1988-91) 813-822, offers a helpful survey of the different aspects of Old Testament narrative literature.

³¹ The names mentioned in 1 Chr 29:29 are an exception: “As for the events of King David’s reign, from beginning to end, they are written in the records of Samuel the seer, the records of Nathan the prophet and the records of Gad the seer.”

³² A.M. Schwemer, *Vitae Prophetarum* (JSHRZ I/7; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1997) 543, 561.

³³ C. Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth* (JSHRZ II/4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1983) 589.

In all these examples of Jewish historiography the narrator stays in the background and remains hidden. In the Old Testament only the prophetic books and works that belong to the genre of wisdom literature carry their authors' names.³⁴ In the history of Jewish historiography the Hellenistic historian Josephus was one of the first who did not publish his books anonymously. In his *Antiquities*, for instance, in which he retells the content of the anonymous historical books of the Old Testament, he candidly reveals his identity.

Read against the background of Ancient Near Eastern literature the anonymity of the Old Testament history books was anything but unusual. Acadian literature was for the most part handed down anonymously as well.³⁵ In Mesopotamia, historical epics were generally published without their authors' names. And Egyptian literature was mostly written anonymously as well. Near Eastern Wisdom books frequently carried their authors' names. Writings on the deeds of the Pharaohs, however, were usually written by unknown authors.³⁶ Not until the time of Alexander the Great did Greek literature and literary conventions gain a decisive influence in the Ancient Near East, "among them the wider use of authors' names."³⁷ Nevertheless, even during the Hellenistic period, Jewish writings were still being published without the names of their authors. As a rule, however, only wisdom, apocalyptic, and testamental literature mentioned the names of the respective authors.³⁸

Most of the documents found at Qumran give no indication of authorship. Works that mention their authors' names (such as the Testament of Levi or the Psalms of Joshua) are the exception. Qumran literature is largely anonymous. This applies not only to the paraphrases of biblical narratives (rewritten Bible) but also to the poetical, liturgical and wisdom texts such as the *Hodayot* and the *Sabbath Songs*. The *Pesharim* (1QpHab etc.) and the halachic texts (such as the *Temple Scroll*, the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document* and the *War Scroll*) are also anonymous.³⁹ This is

³⁴) For example Prov 1:1; 25:1.

³⁵) W. Röllig, "Literatur," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 (1987-90) 35-66, esp. 49-50.

³⁶) A. Millard, "Authors, Books and Readers in the Ancient World," *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (Ed. J.W. Rogerson and J.M. Lieu; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 544-564, esp. 544-548, 549-551.

³⁷) Millard, "Authors," 558.

³⁸) Hengel, "Anonymität," 235-236.

³⁹) For a helpful presentation of the evidence see M.J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 1-26.

something they have in common with the works of rabbinic literature. Mishna, Tosefta and the Talmudim as well as the Midrashim were also distributed anonymously.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the Hebrew history books did not have a prologue that informed the readers about their purpose and their sources. They also did not contain authorial reflections in the first person.⁴¹ Even 1 Maccabees still makes use of this Old Testament style. In contrast, 2 Maccabees already includes a prologue by the author in the first person. This prologue concludes with the following words (2 Macc 2:19-32):

At this point therefore let us begin our narrative, without adding any more to what has already been said; for it would be foolish to lengthen the preface while cutting short the history itself.⁴²

By writing these words the author of 2 Maccabees adopted a literary device characteristic of Greek historiography. Yet, even 2 Maccabees remains anonymous.

It should be remembered that 2 Maccabees is an excerpt of the five volume historical work of Jason of Cyrene and thus represents one of the epitomes discussed by I. Opelt. The author of 2 Maccabees does not mention his name, neither in the prologue nor in the title. In this regard 2 Maccabees may be regarded as a close analogy to the Gospel of Luke whose prologue is also anonymous. The same holds true for the Wisdom of Ben Sira. In its prologue, which introduces the author's Greek translation of his grandfather's originally Hebrew work, the grandson of "Jesus, son of Sirach" (Sir 50:27) also conceals his name. 2 Maccabees, like the Old Testament history books, was named after its main characters. Clement of Alexandria called it "The epitome of the Maccabees."⁴³ And in one of its two oldest manuscripts (V) the writing is called "epitome of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus." Nevertheless, the designation "2 Maccabees"

⁴⁰ Compare J. Neusner, *Why No Gospels in Talmudic Judaism?* (BJSt 135; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988) 70-72.

⁴¹ S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (JSOT.S 70/BiLiSe 17; Sheffield: Elmond, 1989) 23-45: "The Narrator's Manifestation," esp. 23-24.

⁴² Compare Lucian, *De historia conscribenda* 23: Some historians write "introductions that are brilliant, dramatic, and excessively long, so that you expect what follows to be marvelous to hear, but for the body of their history they bring on something so tiny and so undistinguished..." (translation according to LCL).

⁴³ *Stromata* V 14,97.

prevailed.⁴⁴ Because of the anonymity of his work the author of 2 Maccabees differs from the Greco-Roman epitomisers who usually published their works under their names.

Jerome also describes 1 and 2 Chronicles as excerpts of older historical works: *Paralipomenon liber, id est instrumenti ueteris ἐπιτομή*.⁴⁵ In contrast to the author of 2 Maccabees the author of Chronicles did not write a prologue and thus did not inform his readers in more detail about the sources of his subject matter. Still, the two Jewish epitomisers have in common that they published their works anonymously in accordance with the conventions of Old Testament historiography. *The Old Testament historians (and those early Jewish historians who were influenced by them) consistently wrote their works anonymously.*

c. *New Testament Anonymity in the Context of Ancient History of Literature*

By writing anonymously the New Testament narrators were closer to Hebrew than to Greco-Roman historiography. The first and second Gospel present themselves in the style of Old Testament history books: anonymous, without prologues, and without any first person reflections by their authors. The Gospel of Luke and especially the Book of Acts with their prologues and the statements of their authors in the first person conformed to a certain extent to the conventions of Greco-Roman historiography. Yet they, like 2 Maccabees, remain anonymous. Their authors integrated elements of both traditions. The following table can illustrate this. Brackets indicate cases in which the simple difference between plus (+) and minus (-) is not completely adequate.

Authorship in ancient historiography			
	<i>Name</i>	<i>Prologue</i>	<i>1. Person</i>
<i>Hebrew historiography</i>	-	-	-
Matthew	-	-	-
Mark	-	-	-
John	-	(-)	(-)
Luke	-	+	+
Acts	-	+	+
<i>Greek historiography</i>	+	+	+

⁴⁴ See C. Habicht, *JSHRZ* I/3 (1976) 169-177: "Titel, Verfasser und Entstehung des Werkes."

⁴⁵ *Epistulae* LIII 8,18 (CSEL 54, 461,14 Hilberg).

The New Testament historical books share the feature of anonymity, which distinguishes them from Greco-Roman historiography, with all the works of Old Testament (and Near Eastern) historiography. In concealing their authors' names the narrative books of the New Testament follow the model of the Old Testament books from Genesis to 2 Kings as well as 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

3. Reasons for the Use of Authors' Names in Ancient Historiography

In order to understand why ancient historians added their names to their works we need to consider how they wrote their books and what they tried to achieve by publishing them. In a further step (in section 4), we must ask the same questions regarding the writings of those historians who published their works anonymously.

a. *The Work of the Greco-Roman Historian*

In an independent treatise on the topic of *How to Write History* Lucian of Samosata (in the 2nd century AD) explained the task of a Greek historian. Other historians explained in the prologues to their works how they had used their sources and how they wanted to present their material stylistically. Both of these issues are among the *topoi* that regularly occur in the *praefationes* of ancient history books.⁴⁶

According to Lucian, the first step in the historical working process was to collect the historical source material, if possible as an eyewitness or else by consulting reliable witnesses.⁴⁷ Contemporary eyewitnesses were, according to Polybius, subject to close scrutiny. The historian was only allowed to give credence to those witnesses that had proved to be reliable.⁴⁸ The amount of work involved at this stage could be considerable. As a matter of course, an epitomisers like Justin, who merely extracted the books of others, had to do considerably less research.

After collecting all his material, the historian had to produce (in a second step) a stylistically inelegant "series of notes (ὑπόμνημά τι), a body of

⁴⁶) Herkommer, "Die Topoi in den Proömien," 86-101 (about working with the sources) und 112-122 (about style).

⁴⁷) *De historia conscribenda* 47; compare Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift*, 71-85.

⁴⁸) XII 4c,5; compare G. Schepens, "Some Aspects of Source Theory in Greek Historiography," *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 257-274, esp. 269.

material as yet with no beauty or continuity.”⁴⁹ According to some ancient readers, Caesar’s *Commentarii* fell into that category. Cicero, for example, has Brutus say that Caesar only supplied the unadorned material out of which someone else could produce a proper historical work.⁵⁰

In a third step, the historian had to stylistically revise his rough draft: After arranging his material in the right order, his next task, according to Lucian, was to “give it beauty and enhance it with the charms of expression, figure, and rhythm.”⁵¹ Some historians, like Josephus and Lucian, took the Attic prose writers of the 5th and 4th century as their guide in matters of style. Others, like Polybius, wrote in literary Koine.⁵² Lucian also refers to historians who used a rather unpretentious, colloquial Greek. He knew one author who “has compiled a bare record (ὑπόμνημα γυμνόν) of the events and set it down on paper, completely prosaic and ordinary, such as a soldier or artisan or pedlar following the army might have put together as a diary of daily events.” Therefore, according to Lucian, this writer did not himself create a proper historical work but “his work has cleared the ground for some future historian of taste and ability.” Yet, in spite of his artless style the narrator mentioned by Lucian did not publish his work anonymously but used a title that also contained his name: “Calimorphus, surgeon of the Sixth Lancers, History of the Parthian War.”⁵³ Anonymity was unusual even with stylistically unpretentious works.

The following table indicates which persons involved in the production of Greek or Roman history books provided their names. It is immediately obvious that only secretaries and copyists worked anonymously. Their names are mentioned only in exceptional cases.⁵⁴ Greco-Roman historians mention their names even if the amount of work they invested in collecting their material and adorning it stylistically was rather limited.⁵⁵

⁴⁹) *De historia conscribenda* 48 (translation according to LCL).

⁵⁰) *Brutus* 262.

⁵¹) *De historia conscribenda* 48 (translation according to LCL).

⁵²) Concerning the different levels of style in Greek literature see F.R. Adrados, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Von den Anfängen bis heute* (span. 1999; UTB 2317; Tübingen: Francke, 2001) 169-200.

⁵³) *De historia conscribenda* 16 (translation according to LCL).

⁵⁴) So E.R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* (WUNT 2/42; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991) 68, with regard to secretaries in ancient epistles.

⁵⁵) The number of plus signs indicates the amount of work invested in collecting and shaping the material.

The work of Greco-Roman historians			
	<i>Historical research</i>	<i>Style revision</i>	<i>Author</i>
Josephus, <i>Bellum</i>	+++	+++	"Josephus"
Josephus, <i>Antiquitates</i>	+	+++	"Josephus"
Polybius	+++	++	"Polybius"
Callimorphus	+++	+	"Calimorphus"
Justin	+	–	"Justin"
Secretary	–	–	anonymous
Copyist	–	–	anonymous

b. *The Desire for Personal Recognition*

Only exceptionally did ancient authors profit financially from their works.⁵⁶ Some of them explicitly state the reasons why they composed and published their books. Serious historians were primarily interested in teaching their readers about historical truth and in showing them how they should behave as private persons or in political offices.⁵⁷ However, this goal could have been achieved without telling the audience the authors' names.

The fact that almost all Greek and Roman historians published their works under their names is probably due to their distinctive longing for fame. Every Greco-Roman author, not just the historians, wanted to receive recognition for his literary accomplishments.⁵⁸ A book had the potential to make its author famous. Martial rebuked a certain Faustinus, because he found it difficult to finally publish a work he had written: "Do you hesitate to admit Fame that stands before your doors?"⁵⁹ And Martial emphasized that the fame of a writer should already come about during his lifetime: "To the ashes of the dead glory comes too late."⁶⁰ Many authors, however, were striving for literary recognition that would outlast their death. Thus, Ovid expresses his conviction at the end of his *Metamorphoses* that this work was destined to become his own everlasting monument:

⁵⁶ See K. Dziatzko, "Autorrecht," *PRE* II/2 (1896) 2608-2611.

⁵⁷ Thus already Thucydides I 21-22; compare Herkommer, "Die Topoi in den Proömien," 128-136 (about benefit) and 137-151 (about truth).

⁵⁸ Compare K. Schickert, *Der Schutz literarischer Urheberchaft im Rom der klassischen Antike* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2005) 128-131: "Ruhm und Unsterblichkeit als Motivation."

⁵⁹ *Epigrammata* I 25,5: *ante fores stantem dubitas admittere Famam* (Lindsay; translation according to LCL).

⁶⁰ *Epigrammata* I 25,9: *cineri gloria sera venit* (Lindsay; translation according to LCL).

I shall be borne immortal far beyond the lofty stars and I shall have an undying name. Wherever Rome's power extends over the conquered world, I shall have mention on men's lips, and if the prophecies of bards have any truth, through all the ages shall I live in fame.⁶¹

Historians, too, were hoping for fame and recognition by publishing their historical works. In the prologue to his *Antiquities* Josephus mentions several goals that, according to him, motivated historians to write their works. In the first place he refers to fellow writers who approached their task "eager to display their literary skill and to win the fame therefrom expected."⁶² Even epitomisers like Justin reckoned with the appreciation of their readers for their (albeit comparatively small) literary efforts: "For your approbation is sufficient for me for the present, with the expectation of receiving from posterity, when the malice of detraction has died away, an ample testimony to my diligence."⁶³ *Only authors who published their work under their own names could hope for fame and recognition. That is why Greek and Roman history books were not published anonymously.*

4. Reasons for Anonymity in Ancient Historiography

Why did Old Testament historians write their works anonymously?

An old answer suggests that Old Testament narrators abstained from using their names because they considered the Holy Spirit to be the true author of their works. As works inspired by God, the narrative books in the Bible had no real human author; their writers were simply pens in the hand of God. This was the argument on the basis of which Gregory the Great (in the prologue of his *Moralia in Iob*) declared it unnecessary to determine the author of the anonymous book of Job: "If we regard the Holy Spirit as the author and ask nonetheless who the scribe is, what else are we doing than reading the text and enquiring about the pencil?"⁶⁴ According to this view the author of the book of Job concealed his name because he considered God to be the actual

⁶¹ *Metamorphoses* XV 871-880 (480-481 Tarrant; translation according to LCL); compare id., *Tristium* III 3,77-80; Horaz, *Carmina* III 30,1-16.

⁶² *Antiquitates* pr. 2: ... τὴν ἑπ' αὐτῆς... δόξαν (I 4,41 Niese; translation according to H.St.J. Thackeray [LCL]).

⁶³ *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* pr. 6: ... apud posteros... industriae testimonium habituro (2,12-14 Seel; translation according to J.S. Watson).

⁶⁴ *Moralia in Iob* pr. I 1-3 (CCL 143, 9,29-32 Adriaen; my translation). For a detailed interpretation of the *praefatio* compare K. Greschat, *Die Moralia in Iob Gregors des Großen* (STAC 31; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005) 65-78.

author of his work and viewed himself as a more or less passive mediator of God's revelation. This traditional interpretation can easily be applied to the other historical books of the Old Testament and to the New Testament Gospels. Yet, the value of this explanation is limited by the fact that the prophetic books and apostolic letters of the Bible contain their authors' names. Thus, Gregory's thesis is unable to explain why several biblical authors (which he considered to be equally inspired) deliberately put their names at the beginnings of their works. His approach to the problem, while interesting, fails to explain why only some biblical books originated (and were transmitted) anonymously.

Another early, yet more plausible answer arises from an important text written by Galen of Pergamum. In the prologue of his work *De libris propriis* Galen explains why others were able to present as their own works books that actually he himself had written. „To friends and students who asked to get notes of what they had heard they (i.e. some of Galen's books) were given without a title (χωρίς ἐπιγραφῆς) since the books—as they certainly knew—had not been made for publication but for their personal use.”⁶⁵ In a similar way, John Chrysostom explained the anonymity of the five books of Moses and the four Gospels in his commentary on Romans: The biblical narrators did not mention the author's name, because “they were writing to people, who were present, and it had been superfluous to show themselves when they were present. But this man (i.e. Paul) sent his writings from afar and in the form of a letter, for which cause also the addition of the name was necessary.”⁶⁶ Yet, in the case of the Gospels, it appears to be difficult to find enough evidence that in the early church they were regarded as private writings for a limited circle of disciples of the evangelists. And the library index quoted by Irenaeus explicitly speaks of the publication or general release (ἐκδόσις) of the Gospels.⁶⁷

There must be other reasons for the anonymity of the biblical narratives. These must be identified through an analysis of the work process and the self-perception of their authors.

a. *The Work of the Near Eastern Historian*

In the formation of Old Testament historical works not only the scribes and secretaries remained anonymous but also the historians (and epitomisers).

⁶⁵ II 92,13-16 Müller (my translation); for similar ancient statements and the relevant secondary literature see A.D. Baum, *Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschung im frühen Christentum* (WUNT II/138; Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 40.

⁶⁶ *Homiliæ in epistolam ad Romanos* 1,1 (PG 60, 395; translation according to NPNF); additional remarks by the church fathers about the Gospels are discussed by D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia: University Press, 2004) 42-48.

⁶⁷ *Adversus haereses* III 1,1 = Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* V 8,2-4 (GCS 9/1, 442-444 Schwartz/Winkelmann); compare Thornton, *Zeuge des Zeugen*, 8-69.

Even historians who had taken great pains in order to collect and arrange (and adorn) their material abstained from publishing their narratives under their names. The anonymity of the Hebrew historians corresponds to the observation that within Old Testament historiography auctorial reflections in the first person are almost entirely missing and that the narrators present their speech material almost completely in *oratio recta*.

This stands in stark contrast to Greek historiography. Herodotus used the first person hundreds of times in order to reflect on the reliability of his sources and his own reports. Thucydides provided information about his historical method, his temporal relationship to the events of the war and his narrative technique in his prologue and did so in the first person (I 20-22). The Greco-Roman historians acted as open narrators.⁶⁸ In contrast, the Hebrew historians from Genesis to Kings totally abstained from statements in the first person in which they would reflect on the purpose and method of their work. The Old Testament narrators consciously remained virtually invisible.⁶⁹

A similar effect was achieved by reproducing the speeches consistently (with only a few exceptions) in direct speech. Thus the statements of the agents were presented much more directly and vividly. At the same time the narrators remained entirely in the background. In contrast, Greek historiography detached itself from the example of Homer, who also used to present his figures' words in direct speech. Greco-Roman historians delivered large parts of their discourses in indirect speech. Through their narrative techniques they moved themselves somewhat more into the focus of their readers. In Greco-Roman historiography the gap between the speaker and the narrator is more visible than in Hebrew history writing.⁷⁰

Furthermore, Hebrew historians were not interested in editing and altering the style of their sources in order to distinguish themselves as skilful writers. Their reluctance to change the wording of their source texts can be observed most clearly in a synoptic comparison between the text of Chronicles on the one hand and the Books of Samuel and Kings on the other hand. On average, the Chronicler has preserved 80% of the original

⁶⁸ Compare C. Dewald, "Narrative Surface and Auctorial Voice in Herodotus' Histories," *Arethusa* 20 (1987) 147-170.

⁶⁹ Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible*, 23-45: "The Narrator's Manifestation".

⁷⁰ For a detailed defense of this thesis see A.D. Baum, "Zu Funktion und Authentizität der *oratio recta*. Hebräische und griechische Geschichtsschreibung im Vergleich," *ZAW* 115 (2003) 586-607, esp. 595-597.

wording of his presumed source texts.⁷¹ *The anonymity of Old Testament historiography is related to the fact that it does not contain reflections in the first person nor does it use indirect speech and that it reproduces the wording of the respective source texts rather closely.*

Composition in ancient historiography

	Name	1. Person	Oratio obliqua	Stylistic ambition
Near Eastern historiography	–	–	–	–
Genesis—Kings	–	–	–	–
Ezra/Nehemiah/Chronicles	–	–	–	–
Greco-Roman historiography	+	+	+	+

b. *The Priority of the Subject Matter*

In order to understand the relationship of Hebrew historians to their subject matter an additional factor has to be taken into account. According to W. Speyer the historical books of the Old Testament were to be regarded as “records of very old oral traditions.”⁷² This characterization is basically accurate. It must, however, be modified in light of the written sources to which Hebrew historians regularly refer (1 Kings 11:41 *et al.*). Old Testament narrators thought of themselves as mediators of oral and written traditions. “The narrator disappears behind his material. He does not, as it were, report on historical events; rather he passes on traditions.”⁷³ The writer remains invisible behind the tradition he hands on, acting as its nameless mouthpiece.⁷⁴ In Old Testament historiography the historical tradition had absolute priority, as indicated by the fact that these historical works are almost invariably anonymous.

In contrast to the anonymous historical works, the prophetic and Wisdom books of the Old Testament (and the Ancient Near East) were

⁷¹ See A.D. Baum, “Die lukanische und chronistische Quellenbenutzung im Vergleich: Eine Teilanalogie zum synoptischen Problem,” *ETL* 78 (2002) 340–357, and the literature mentioned there.

⁷² Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung*, 109–110; compare Aune, “Anonymity,” 35: “the text represents traditions ‘owned’ by the community in which the author writes.”

⁷³ H. Cancik, *Mythische und historische Wahrheit. Interpretationen zu Texten der hethitischen, biblischen und griechischen Historiographie* (SBS 48; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1970) 105–108.

⁷⁴ Compare R. Alter, *The World of Biblical Literature* (New York: Basic Books, 1992) 2–3.

published under their authors' names. The comprehension of the reason for this difference has already been lost in late antiquity. In his commentary on Romans Chrysostom wrote somewhat perplexed:

But when the prophets have mentioned their own names and also Solomon, I leave it for you to examine this further, (that is) why some (*i.e.* the prophets and Solomon) have mentioned it while others (*i.e.* the Old Testament historians) have not. For you are not to learn everything from me, lest you become more dull.⁷⁵

The correct explanation which Chrysostom apparently was unable to give should have been that the authority of Wisdom literature was generally deduced from the authority of the Wisdom teachers. Their names were therefore mentioned. With regard to prophetic literature, the authority of prophetic messages depended even more on the identity of the particular prophet who claimed to have been appointed by God and to be authorized to act as a mediator of divine revelation. For this reason an anonymous prophetic book was considered unacceptable in the world of the Ancient Near East (and the Old Testament).⁷⁶ With historical works there was no comparable concern with the identity of the writer. The attention was focused entirely on the subject matter.

An appreciation for the essential relationship between the anonymity of Old Testament (and Ancient Near Eastern) historiography and the priority of its content or subject matter has rarely been expressed by Greco-Roman historians. Yet, Salvian of Marseille had to defend himself in his ninth letter against critics who accused him of having published his four books to the church (*Ad ecclesiam*) under the name of Timothy. In one of his arguments he tried to explain why a work could abstain from mentioning the (true) name of the author:

In every book one searches more for the impact of what one is reading than for the name of the author. . . . Since the name of the author has no impact at all, it is needless that the one who has found value in the writings should ask for the name of the author.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Homiliae in epistolam ad Romanos* 1,1 (PG 60, 395; my translation).

⁷⁶ See J. Weinberg, "Was Elihu, the Son of Barachel, the Author of the Book of Job? A Hypothesis," *Transeuphratène* 16 (1998) 149-166, esp. 152-157, and id., "Authorship and Author in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible," *HebStud* 44 (2003) 157-169, esp. 158-161.

⁷⁷ Salvian, *Epistolae* 9,4: *in omni enim uolumine profectus magis quaeritur lectionis quam nomen auctoris* . . . (CSEL 8, 217,24-218,7 Pauly; my translation).

A statement by Sulpicius Severus has still more in common with the true reason for the anonymity of Old Testament narratives. At the beginning of his *Life of St. Martin*, in the dedication letter to Desiderius, Sulpicius explains why he was willing to have his biography of bishop Martin of Tours published anonymously:

Kindly erase the title which the book bears on its front, so that the page may be silent; and (what is quite enough) let the book proclaim its subject-matter, while it tells nothing of the author.⁷⁸

In the context of this paper, the fact that the author's offer to have his work published anonymously belonged to the humility *topoi* of hagiographic literature and thus must not be taken at its face value is irrelevant.⁷⁹ The prologue of Sulpicius Severus explicitly put into words an authorial self-perception that also formed the basis of a very different kind of historiography. *The anonymity of their works was the stylistic device by which Old Testament (and Ancient Near Eastern) historians presented themselves as rather insignificant mediators of the traditional material they passed on and by which in contrast they gave highest priority to their subject matter.*

5. New Testament Anonymity from the Readers' Perspective

By writing their works without mentioning their names, the New Testament narrators deliberately placed themselves in the tradition of Old Testament historiography. Like their Old Testament models, they wanted to use the anonymity of their works to give priority to their subject matter, the narratives about the life of Jesus (and the spread of the early Jesus movement). As authors they wanted, for the most part, to disappear behind their subject matter. In order to move the subject matter to the foreground as much as possible they let their actors talk mostly in direct speech and abstained from any reflections in the first person. Even in this respect they took over the stylistic devices with which the Old Testament historians had

⁷⁸) *Vita sancti Martini* pr. 6: ... ut... loquatur materiam, non loquatur auctorem (CSEL 1, 110,8-9 Halm; translation according to NPNF).

⁷⁹) R. Klein, "Die Praefatio der Martinsvita des Sulpicius Severus," *AU* 31/4 (1988) 5-32, esp. 12-23; compare Herkommer, "Proömien," 52-59: "Äußerungen der Bescheidenheit"; Th. Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 22-34.

already tried to disappear as far as possible into the background of their narratives. Since they were mainly concerned with their subject matter and not with displaying their literary skill, the narrators of the New Testament also largely abstained from elevating the colloquial Hellenistic prose of their sources to a more sophisticated literary level. All of these literary idiosyncrasies of the Gospels and Acts⁸⁰ were designed to make the authors as invisible as possible and to highlight the priority of their subject matter.

That early readers understood this self-perception of the evangelists is shown by the testimony of Papias concerning the Gospel of Mark. The presbyter quoted by Papias makes unmistakably clear that in his view the content of the second Gospel had merely been transmitted by Mark, its assumed author. As Peter's interpreter, Mark had mainly reproduced the content of Peter's oral presentations.⁸¹

In spite of this information, which corresponds well with the anonymity of the second Gospel, it is clear that Papias himself is interested in the identity of the Gospels' authors. This was probably due to his concern to substantiate the historical claim of the Gospel narratives, and thus to confirm their authenticity and reliability. The name "Matthew" represents an implicit claim that the first Gospel came from a direct disciple of Jesus. By appropriating the name "Mark" the second Gospel was attributed to a close companion and co-worker of the apostle Peter, who had been a direct disciple of Jesus.

In his argument with Marcion, Tertullian addresses the question of why the early readers of the New Testament historical books were not content to accept their anonymity, but emphatically asked about the names of their authors. Tertullian also comments on the edition of Luke's Gospel that Marcion used. It was particularly in this regard that he attached importance to the names of the Gospel authors and dismissed anonymous Gospels: "We lay it down as our first position, that the evangelical Testament has apostles for its authors, to whom was assigned by the Lord Himself this office of publishing the Gospels."⁸² According to Tertullian, the four

⁸⁰ For an excellent and more detailed introduction see M. Reiser, *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments. Eine Einführung* (UTB 2197; Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001) 98-115.

⁸¹ Quoted by Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* III 39,15; compare A.D. Baum, "Der Presbyter des Papias über einen 'Hermeneuten' des Petrus. Zu Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3,39,15," *ThZ* 56 (2000) 20-35.

⁸² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* IV 2 (CSEL 47, 426,6-8 Kroymann; translation according to ANF).

Gospels, written by the apostles and their disciples, differ in terms of the order of their subject matter etc. but agree with regard to the main tenets of the faith. In their common theological perspective, however, Tertullian regards them as theologically incompatible with the teaching of Marcion:

Marcion, on the other hand, you must know, ascribes no author to his Gospel, as if it could not be allowed him to affix a title to that from which it was no crime (in his eyes) to subvert the very body. And here I might now make a stand, and contend that a work ought not to be recognised, which holds not its head erect, which exhibits no consistency, which gives no promise of credibility from the fullness of its title and the just profession of its author.⁸³

The decision of the authors on the one hand to abstain from mentioning their names in order to highlight the subject matter met with the concern of early readers to secure the authenticity of the historical narratives by identifying the authors by name.

Anonymity and names in the historical books of the New Testament		
	Priority of subject matter	Authenticity of narrative
1st Gospel	anonymous	“Matthew”
2nd Gospel	anonymous	“Mark”
3rd Gospel	anonymous	“Luke”
4th Gospel	anonymous	“John”
Acts	anonymous	“Luke”

This twofold concern may also be reflected by the secondary Gospel superscriptions. A work like Philostratus’ book about the Sophists had the title Φιλοστράτου βίοι σωφιστῶν. The Gospels did not receive similar titles. The first gospel was not called “Gospel of Matthew” (Μαθθαίου εὐαγγέλιον or εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Μαθθαίου), but “Gospel according to Matthew (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον),” which was a comparatively unusual designation.

In these secondary titles the names of the evangelists are mentioned. This must have satisfied the desire of those readers who for reasons of authenticity and historicity wanted to know the identity of the Gospel authors. At the same time, the word κατὰ (“according to”) that could be

⁸³⁾ Ibid. IV 2: ...*non agnoscendum... opus, quod non erigat frontem...* (426,18-24; translation according to ANF).

used instead of the genitive expressed that the evangelists were or wanted to be nothing other than mediators of their subject matter. The Gospel of Jesus Christ had existed long before the authors of our Gospels wrote their works. They merely wrote it down, though in different versions. In a similar way, a reference to the (Greek) Old Testament "according to (κατά) Symmachus" alluded to the conviction that Symmachus the Ebionite did not produce the Old Testament or its subject matter, but had only been its mediator through his particular (Greek) version.⁸⁴

6. Conclusion

The anonymity of the New Testament historical books should not be regarded as peculiar to early Christian literature nor should it be interpreted in the context of Greco-Roman historiography. The striking fact that the New Testament Gospels and Acts do not mention their authors' names has its literary counterpart in the anonymity of the Old Testament history books, whereas Old Testament anonymity itself is rooted in the literary conventions of the Ancient Near East. Just as in the Old Testament, where the authors of books that belonged to the genre of wisdom and prophetic literature were usually named while historical works were written anonymously, only the New Testament letters and the Apocalypse were published under their authors' names while the narrative literature of the New Testament remained anonymous. The authorial intent of the Gospels' anonymity can also be deduced from its Ancient Near Eastern and Old Testament background. Unlike the Greek or Roman historian who, among other things, wanted to earn praise and glory for his literary achievements from both his contemporaries and posterity, the history writer in the Ancient Near East sought to disappear as much as possible behind the material he presented and to become its invisible mouthpiece. *By adopting the stylistic device of anonymity from Old Testament historiography the Evangelists of the New Testament implied that they regarded themselves as comparatively insignificant mediators of a subject matter that deserved the full attention of the readers.* The anonymity of the Gospels is thus rooted in a deep conviction concerning the ultimate priority of their subject matter.

⁸⁴ See M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London: SCM, 2000) 48-56.

Did Jesus Save the People out of Egypt? A Re-examination of a Textual Problem in Jude 5*

Philipp F. Bartholomä
 Landau

Abstract

In Jude 5, the manuscript evidence yields three different subjects [(1) κύριος, (2) Ἰησοῦς, (3) θεός]. The major textual editions, but also the vast majority of English translations, prefer the κύριος-reading as original. The Ἰησοῦς-reading, although acknowledged by many as *lectio difficilior*, has generally been regarded as *too* hard. Yet, in light of the textual evidence studied from the standpoint of reasoned eclecticism, the traditional preference of the κύριος-reading appears to be questionable. An examination of both external and internal evidence suggests that Ἰησοῦς should be seriously considered as the original reading in Jude 5. This would argue for the existence of a high Christology (including Christ's pre-existence) within the Epistle of Jude.

Keywords

Textual criticism; Reasoned Eclecticism; Jude, Epistle of; Jude 5, pre-existence

Jude 5 contains several textual problems. Most problematic is certainly the identification of the subject of this verse, “which constitutes the principal basis for viewing Jude 5 as a *crux interpretum*.”¹ Who “saved the people out of the land of Egypt” and “later destroyed those who did not believe?” Basically three different subjects of Jude 5 are extant in the manuscript evidence (see tables below): (reading 1) “Lord” [κύριος]; (reading 2) “Jesus” [Ἰησοῦς] and (reading 3) “God” [θεός]. All readings appear with or without the article. Of these readings, Ἰησοῦς seems to be the most difficult, but many have suggested that this reading is *too* hard, since it attributes to Jesus an active involvement in the events of the Exodus and the dealings

* I am grateful to David B. Wallace for his helpful suggestions and comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ Carroll D. Osburn, “The Text of Jude 5,” *Bib* 62 (1981) 111 (italics original).

with the wilderness generation. Hort even denotes it as “a blunder.”² Metzger’s *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* states that “a majority of the Committee was of the opinion that the reading was difficult to the point of impossibility.”³ Thus, the reading [ὁ] κύριος is generally preferred not only by NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ but also by the vast majority of English translations (including [N]KJV, NASB[95], NIV, TNIV, NLT, CEV, HCSB) as well as by the editions of Tischendorf, von Soden, Hort, Weiss, and Merk. Both Richard Bauckham and Charles Landon (in a doctoral dissertation on the text of Jude) have substantially defended the traditional view of [ὁ] κύριος as the original text.⁴ The most significant defense of the strikingly difficult reading Ἰησοῦς (of which there have generally been very few) was done by Carroll Osburn, yet in the past this reading has never been reflected in any major textual edition or translation (with the exception of UBS^{1/2} and the editions of Lachmann and Bover).⁵ This has changed, however, since now the *Editio Critica Maior* (published in 2005) as well as the ESV and the NET Bible have chosen to adopt the reading Ἰησοῦς in Jude 5.⁶ Most recently, Tommy Wasserman, in an extensive study on the text of Jude, has

² F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1882), 106 (Appendix). He conjectured “that the original text had only ὁ, and that ΟΤΙΟ was read as ΟΤΙΙΟ and perhaps as ΟΤΙΙΩ.” The RSV has followed Hort in this respect and renders the subject of Jude 5 with the personal pronoun “he.” However, in light of the lack of any manuscript support, such conjectural emendation should be rejected.

³ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 657. It has to be noted, however, that the reading [ὁ] κύριος has been given a [D] rating (which “indicates that the Committee had great difficulty in arriving at a decision [14*].”) At the same time, Bruce M. Metzger and Allen Wikgren (as a minority vote) seem to prefer the reading Ἰησοῦς. It is also interesting that UBS² still contained Ἰησοῦς as the original reading. Roger L. Omanson, *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament: An Adaptation of Bruce M. Metzger’s Textual Commentary for the Needs of Translators* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 520-521, followed the decision of the Committee in his argument for the κύριος-reading.

⁴ Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990) 307-312; see also Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC 50; Waco: Word, 1983) 48-49; Charles Landon, *A Text-Critical Study of the Epistle of Jude* (JSNTSup 135; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996) 70-77, as well as the majority of modern commentators.

⁵ Osburn, “The Text of Jude 5.” As far as I can see, only Allen Wikgren, “Some Problems in Jude 5,” *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth W. Clark* (ed. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967) 147-148; Jarl Fossum, “Kyrios Jesus as the Angel of the Lord in Jude 5-7,” *NTS* 33 (1987) 226-243; and Jerome Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude* (AB 37C; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 61-62, are also in favor of Ἰησοῦς.

⁶ *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior*. Vol. IV: *Catholic Letters*. Installment 4: *The Second and Third Letter of John, The Letter of Jude* (eds. B. Aland, K. Aland, G. Mink

again argued for the κύριος-reading, thus challenging the textual decision of the editors of the *Editio Critica Maior*.⁷ This recent development justifies a re-examination of the evidence. *The purpose of this study, therefore, is to take a fresh look at both the external and internal evidence of this particular textual problem in Jude 5 from the viewpoint of reasoned eclecticism.*

1. External Evidence

a. Textcritical Charts

Table 1. Reading 1: [ὁ] κύριος

	Alexandrian		Western	Byzantine	Other
	Primary	Secondary			
Papyri					
Uncials	Ⲛ [IV]	C* [V] Y [IX/X]		K [IX] L [VIII]	
Minuscules		1175 [XI] 1292 [XIII] 1409 [XIV] 1852 [1306]		Byz [IX-XVI] 175 [X] 216 [1358] 255 [XII] 337 [XII] 383 [XIII] 460 [XIII] 489 [1316] 632 [XII- XIV] 917 [XII] 927 [1133] 1245 [XII] 1311 [1090] 1518 [XV] 1717 [XIII] 1738 [XI] 1765 [XIV] 1829 [XI] 1836 [X] 1857 [XIII] 1874 [X]	104 [1087] 181 [XI] 307 [X] 326 [XII] 429 [XIV] 436 [XI/XII] 630 [XIV] 945 [XI] 1067 [XIV] 1505 [XII] 1611 [X] 1844 [XV] 2138 [1072] 2147 [XI]

and K. Wachtel, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2005), 37*.410. The editors of this edition stated that the discussion over this text was “particularly intense”.

⁷⁾ Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (Coniectanea Biblica 43, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006), 262-266.

Table 1. (cont.)

	Alexandrian		Western	Byzantine	Other
	Primary	Secondary			
				1890 [XIV] 1898 [X]	
Lectionaries					<i>Lect</i> 1593[XV]
Versions				syr ^h [616]	
Fathers					Ephraem [† 373] John Damascus [before 754] Ps-Athanasius [VIII] Oecumenius [VI] Theophylus [† 412]

Table 2. Reading 2: [ό] 'Ιησοῦς

[It is disputed whether vg belongs to the Alexandrian or the Western texttype, thus, for our purposes, we classified it as "other". Didymus witnesses to two different readings. In Did^{lac}³⁰⁷ he reads 'Ιησοῦς (cf. the apparatus of Tischendorf, also Bover). In Did^{tri}^{1,19} κύριος 'Ιησοῦς is found. This is obviously the reading that von Soden refers to in his apparatus. But since both readings include a clear reference to Jesus as the subject, it seems best to list Didymus under reading 2.]

	Alexandrian		Western	Byzantine	Other
	Primary	Secondary			
Papyri					
Uncials	B [IV]	A [V]			
Minuscules	81 [1044] 1241 [XII]	33 [IX] 322 [XV] 323 [XII] 1739 [X] 1881 [XIV] 2344 [XI]		424 [XI]	6 [XIII] 88 [XII] 915 [XIII] 2298 [XII]
Lectionaries					
Versions	(cop ^{sc}) [III-VII]		it ^{ar} [IX]		vg [IV/V] (cop ^{bo}) [IX-XII] eth [VI] arm ^{ed mg}
Fathers		Origen ^{1739mg} [253/254] Didymus [† c. 395]	Jerome [† 420]		Cyril [† 444] Bede [735]

Table 3. Reading 3: [ὁ] θεός

	Alexandrian		Western	Byzantine	Other
	Primary	Secondary			
Papyri					
Uncials					C ² [VI]
Minuscules	1243 [XI]			5 [XIV] 442 [XIII] 1845 [X]	623 [1037] 1846 [XI]
Lectionaries					l 44 [XII] l 596 [1146]
Versions					vg ^{mas} [?] arm [V] geo [V] syr ^{ph} [507/508] (slav) [IX]
Fathers	Clement ^{vid} [before 215]		Lucifer [†371]		

Other readings that occur are:

Reading 4: κύριος Ἰησοῦς—1735 [X]; l 591 [XI] (both “Byzantine”); Did^{tri 1,19}

Reading 5: θεός χριστός—P⁷² [III/IV] (“other”)

The following manuscripts mentioned in the charts are not listed by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴, but only by Tischendorf, von Soden, Merk or Bover:

- (1) For [ὁ] κύριος: 630. Ps-Ath. Thphyl. Oec. (Tischendorf only); 175. 632. 1717. 1857. 1890. John Dam. (von Soden only); 181. 216. 307. 489. 1518. 1829. 1836. 1874. 1898. (Merk only); 383. 429. 913. 1765. 1852. 2147. (von Soden, Merk); 104. 255. 326. 460. (von Soden, Merk, Bover – von Soden has 255 as a θεός reading); 337. 1738. (Merk, Bover); 927. 1311. (von Soden, Bover); Ephr (Tischendorf, Bover).
- (2) For [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς: 6. (Tischendorf only); 88. (von Soden, Merk, Bover); Did. (Tischendorf, Bover).
- (3) For [ὁ] θεός: 442. (Tischendorf only); 5. (Merk only); 1845. (von Soden, Merk).

b. *Discussion of External Evidence*

Before we take a closer look at the external evidence, two readings (i.e., readings 4 and 5) may be excluded right from the start: κύριος Ἰησοῦς is only read early on by Didymus (Did^{tri} 1,19) as well as by very few late manuscripts (1735 [X]; l 591 [XI]) and is most likely a conflation. The unique θεὸς Χριστός has the support of P⁷², a third/fourth century papyrus. For it to be original, however, one would have expected at least some traces of this reading in other witnesses.⁸

Certainly, the most inferior reading externally is [ὁ] θεός. Besides the second corrector of C and one Alexandrian manuscript (1243), only a few Byzantine minuscules (5 442 1845 [623 1846]) testify to this reading as well as one Latin Father and some early versions. This reading must have entered the Alexandrian texttype relatively early in the transmission process (possibly through Clement of Alexandria in the early third century).⁹

With regard to the other two readings, the external evidence seems to be in favor of reading 2, [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς. Although the manuscripts of the Alexandrian texttype are not genealogically solid, it should be noted that reading 2 has the significantly strongest support from the more reliable manuscripts of the primary Alexandrian text. It is found in important and early Alexandrian uncials (A B) as well as in a significant number of important minuscules (33 81 322 323 1241 1739 1881). Moreover, [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς is witnessed as early as the mid-third century (Origen^{1739mg}). This, together with the strong support from many early Alexandrian manuscripts suggests that [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς is the earlier reading.

Though reading 1, [ὁ] κύριος, finds its strongest support in the Byzantine text, it is significant that it is also found in several manuscripts representing the Alexandrian texttype; among those are the early uncials X and C* (also from two different streams of transmission!) as well as the later Ψ. In addition, some early fathers (Ephraem, Theophylus) confirm the early existence of this reading. In spite of this impressive evidence for reading 1,

⁸) Metzger, *Commentary*, 657.

⁹) Clement seems to have the θεός reading, but there are reasons to assume that his text is a free citation of Jude 5 extracted from its epistolary context so that it probably does not represent a text known to Clement. (Cf. Osbourn, "The Text of Jude 5", 109 for a more extensive treatment of Clement.) As far as I can see, only F. Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1885) 324, and Sakae Kubo, *P⁷² and the Codex Vaticanus* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1965) 141, have argued that the original reading is θεός.

[ὁ] Ἰησοῦς has the stronger support from the early and most reliable primary Alexandrian sources. Furthermore, it may well be that the late secondary Alexandrian witnesses in favor of [ὁ] κύριος are marked by a Byzantine influence.

In addition to being earlier, [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς is also more geographically widespread. It seems to be found in diverse locations already in the first few centuries as it existed in Egypt/North Africa as well as western areas of the Roman Empire (Jerome, Bede [although later]). It also influenced several of the early versions (besides Jerome's Vulgate, also the Sahidic and [possibly later] Ethiopic versions, et al.). This geographical diversity is yet another strong argument for the primacy of the Ἰησοῦς reading.

In light of the probable earlier date together with the support from the majority of the most reliable witnesses (although there is no complete genealogical solidarity within the Alexandrian texttype) and the geographical diversity of the manuscripts that favor [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς, I conclude that reading 2 has to be regarded as superior externally.

2. Internal Evidence

a. *Transcriptional Probability*

Because all three variants were written as *nomina sacra*, the tendency has been to account for the different readings by *unintentional change*. For example, the majority of the UBS Committee has explained the origin of the Ἰησοῦς reading in terms of transcriptional oversight, arguing that one could easily imagine that a scribe would take the original ḲϞ as ἰϞ.¹⁰ This is entirely possible, since κ and ι have a vertical stroke in common. Actually, we find in the New Testament several places where the supposedly original κύριος is replaced by either Ἰησοῦς (Luke 7:13, 10:41, 13:15, 22:61) or θεός (Acts 12:11, Rom 14:4, 1 Cor 7:17, 2 Thess 3:3, Jude 9) in some manuscripts. However, in most—if not in all—of these places the changes appear to be intentional, i.e., due to contextual or theological reasons.¹¹ While the possibility of an intentional change does not rule out the possibility that the different readings in Jude 5 were the result of scribal

¹⁰ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 657.

¹¹ Only the passages where κύριος occurs in the nominative case have been reviewed. For specific examples of changes due to context or theology see Luke 13:15; Rom 14:4; and Jude 9.

confusion, two other observations tip the balance in favour of the former: (a) It seems unlikely that κ (in κ̄ϛ̄ = κύριος) and θ (in θ̄ϛ̄ = θεός) would be easily mixed up. (b) The change made by the second corrector of C was obviously deliberate, thus we have to reckon with the fact that there were reasons for a scribe to be uncomfortable with the κύριος reading and intentionally alter it (see below). Further, an unintentional confusion of *nomina sacra* could account for any of the three readings as original (and not necessarily only for the κύριος reading, as some seem to suggest).¹² Thus, while one might conclude that it is possible that scribal accidents led to different variants, there is sufficient reason to suspect that it was not purely a case of accidental, transcriptional error.

Indeed, on closer examination, the variants appear to be the result of *intentional changes*. The distribution of variants seem to suggest that scribes replaced the more specific term Ἰησοῦς with the less specific terms κύριος or even θεός, because they might have conceived it as anachronistic and theologically problematic to talk about “Jesus” saving the people out of Egypt and destroying them in the wilderness. The presumption underlying the Ἰησοῦς reading is “that the pre-incarnate Christ, as the agent of God in relation to creation, was active in the work of Israel’s redemption; and that the name he was to bear in the days of his flesh could be appropriately used of him in connection with this great historical type of salvation centuries prior to his incarnation.”¹³ Since “Jesus” was perceived to be a man’s name (associated with Christ’s humanity), one can easily imagine how scribes would consider as too bold the notion of “Jesus,” the man, being pre-existent. Therefore, if the original reading had been κύριος, we would have to assume that a certain group of scribes deliberately created a difficulty by inserting the more specific Ἰησοῦς. This is unlikely. Rather, it seems more probable that scribes changed the more problematic Ἰησοῦς into κύριος, the name typically used for Christ the Lord, and thereby avoided what they might have conceived as an improper human designation of the pre-existent Lord.

However, there is reason to suspect that this is not the sole theological problem that could have played a role here. The evidence suggests that at

¹² E.g., in Metzger’s *Textual Commentary* the possibility of transcriptional oversight is only mentioned in one direction (i.e., κ̄ϛ̄ being taken for ῑϛ̄); the θεός variant is not even discussed (probably due to the lack of strong external support).

¹³ Peter Russell Jones, *The Epistle of Jude as Expounded by the Fathers* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001) 21.

least part of the textual problem has to be seen against the backdrop of the Christological controversies of the first few centuries as a general attempt to avoid the idea of Jesus' pre-existence. This seems to be the most likely explanation for the θεός reading. θεός would clearly indicate God, the Father, as the one active in the Old Testament and thus, delete any reference to the pre-existent Son. In this respect, one should note that for those who denied the concept of pre-existence, changing Ἰησοῦς into κύριος in Jude 5 would only make the whole statement a bit more ambiguous, since, in the light of v. 4 (which reads κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν), the κύριος reading would still give the impression that Jesus is in view. At least the scribal correction in uncial C (from κύριος to θεός) is probably best explained by assuming that the corrector was aware of the remaining ambiguity and wanted to remove every Christological meaning from the statement. The somewhat similar textual problem in 1 Cor 10:9 supports the view that these kinds of changes could occur in light of different Christological conceptions. 1 Cor 10:9 almost certainly reads "And let us not put *Christ* to the test as some of them did [in the wilderness], and were destroyed by snakes."¹⁴ Textual variants for "Christ" in this verse are "Lord" and "God." Since it can be shown that the "Christ" reading of this verse was used as proof for Christological assertions in the third century,¹⁵ one can easily imagine a scribe's motivation to insert "Lord" or "God" in 1 Cor 10:9 (and consequently in Jude 5 as well).¹⁶ While this seems to be a reasonable assertion, the following restrictive considerations need also to be taken into account: if the possibility of a theological alteration in this Christological text in Jude 5 away from the concept of pre-existence is supposed (which

¹⁴ For the text-critical argument in favor of the Χριστόν reading in 1 Cor 10:9 see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 494.

¹⁵ Cf. Carroll D. Osburn, "The Text of 1 Corinthians 10:9," *New Testament Textual Criticism—its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 201-212. He mentions that 1 Cor 10:9 with the reading Χριστόν was used in A.D. 268 by the bishops to condemn Paul of Samosata for his unorthodox views in relation to the pre-existence of Christ.

¹⁶ A comparison of the external evidence in 1 Cor 10:9 and Jude 5 is striking: B and 33 read "Jesus" in Jude 5 but "Lord" in 1 Cor 10:9. A and 81 also read "Jesus" in Jude 5 but "God" in 1 Cor 10:9. This can be explained in different ways: (a) If those manuscripts (or their ancestors) had a tendency to replace "Christ" in 1 Cor 10:9 for Christological reasons, then their witness to "Jesus" in Jude 5 has even more weight. (b) The scribes could have copied from different manuscripts with different tendencies. (c) The differences are due to unintentional changes of the similar *nomina sacra*, which is still a possibility (but see our comments on unintentional changes above).

would, of course, imply a change from Ἰησοῦς to κύριος or θεός), it can, at the same time, not be excluded that the Ἰησοῦς reading had its origin in the later anti-adoptionist tendency to stress the divinity of Christ. We have to keep in mind, however, that both of these explanations regarding Jude 5 are somewhat problematic, since it is unlikely that the letter itself, still significantly debated in terms of canonicity, would have been a focal point of these Christological debates.

Finally, several scholars have tried to explain the transcriptional circumstances on different grounds. They have argued that κύριος should be preferred as the reading that best explains the others: Ἰησοῦς and θεός should both be seen as attempts to resolve the ambiguity inherent in the κύριος reading.¹⁷ While this is possible, it seems unlikely, because even when a copyist understood κύριος as a reference to Christ and wanted to emphasize his pre-existence, he would have almost certainly supplied a Christological title as in 1 Cor 10:9 or at least adjusted his variant to the context in v. 4. Even in this respect, Ἰησοῦς is the harder reading and a scribe would probably not have inserted it.

It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the Ἰησοῦς reading, with its presumption that Jesus acted in the early history of Israel, is more difficult, and thus more prone to change in terms of transcriptional probability. This variant can be conceived as difficult in at least two possible respects: [a] the designation of the pre-incarnate Christ with the personal name "Jesus" and [b] the general concept of pre-existence. While it is hard to imagine why a scribe may have changed the subject of Jude 5 to Ἰησοῦς, there seem to be reasonable explanations for the rise of both other readings assuming Ἰησοῦς as the original variant.¹⁸

At this point, a few short comments about the relation to other textual problems in Jude 5 must suffice.¹⁹ There are good reasons for assuming that ἀπαξ should be read before πάντα instead of in the ὅτι-clause.²⁰ If this is the case, it is interesting that $\aleph$, C*, Ψ ,

¹⁷ See Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 43; Landon, *A Text-critical Study*, 75.

¹⁸ Alternatively, even if not motivated by a theological tendency away from a high Christology, a scribe might be likely to assimilate Ἰησοῦς with κύριος in conformity with Ex 12:51; Num 14:34-37 [LXX]. Carroll Osburn has further suggested that "κύριος and θεός could have come to be substituted for Ἰησοῦς due to patristic convention as vv. 5ff. were quoted apart from the epistolary context." ("The Text of Jude 5," 113.)

¹⁹ For the complexities of the Greek evidence in Jude 5 compare the *Editio Critica Maior* which gives over 30 different readings.

²⁰ Cf. the textcritical note in the *New English Translation/Novum Testamentum Graece: New Testament Diglot Edition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004) 882; *pace* NA²⁷.

630 and 1505 contain the inferior ὑπαξ reading, so that we could suspect that these manuscripts have a tendency to change the wording. [A B 33 81 et al. have the superior ὑπαξ reading *and* Ἰησοῦς.] Since the scribes generally had the tendency to add the article, we should probably read the subject of the sentence without the article.

b. *Intrinsic Probability*

Turning to the *intrinsic probability* of the variants in Jude 5, our main task is to evaluate the argument mentioned in the introduction that Ἰησοῦς is not only the most difficult reading but even difficult to the point of impossibility. Is it really impossible for Jude to have written Ἰησοῦς in v. 5? We need to consider the following points:

(1) Jude could refer to Joshua, Son of Nun, since Ἰησοῦς is the Greek equivalent to the Hebrew name Joshua (see Acts 7:45 and Heb 4:8). However, in light of the context, it is hard to understand Ἰησοῦς simply as “Joshua,” since v. 6 seems to require the same subject as v. 5. Now, although Joshua led the people into the holy land and might have contributed to the destruction of the unbelievers through his testimony (v. 5), the keeping of the angels in eternal chains can certainly not be ascribed to him (v. 6). In light of this, a typological usage of Ἰησοῦς (i.e., Joshua being a type for Christ) has been considered to be more likely (e.g., by Allen Wikgren), since such a general typological concept can be found as early as the Epistle of Barnabas (12:8-10) and in the writings of Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 75.2; 113.2-3 et al.).²¹ In this case, Jude would have supplied an ambiguous, yet possibly common, reference to Joshua that ultimately points to Jesus. Such an interpretation would not only explain why Jude employed the term Ἰησοῦς as opposed to his normal usage of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς (Jude 1, 4, 17, 21, 25), but it would also shed light on the ambiguous character of the κύριος variant itself, which could now be understood as an attempt to prevent misunderstandings of the “Joshua-reading” by making explicit that “Jesus, the Lord” is in view. However, the possibility for Jude using this Joshua-typology remains doubtful for at least two reasons: (a) As we said earlier, several of the actions attributed to the subject of v. 5 do not directly apply to Joshua. (b) It seems unlikely that Jude—after directly referring to Christ in v. 4—would take a step backwards and employ Joshua as a way of pointing to Jesus.

²¹ Cf. Allen Wikgren, “Some Problems in Jude 5,” 148.

Interestingly enough, Charles Landon has followed Richard Bauckham in applying the Joshua-Jesus typology as a major argument for the primacy of the κύριος reading. They reason that Ἰησοῦς was introduced by a scribe who was influenced by "the Joshua-Jesus typology which became popular in the second century."²² A scribe would have been attracted to such an insertion by the reference to the Exodus, without noticing "as an author would, the pitfalls it would encounter as the statement continues [i.e., without looking ahead at vv. 6-7]."²³ Though this is a possible conjecture, it seems unlikely that a scribe mindful enough to think about such a typology would miss the inappropriateness of his interpolation. Further, it is not probable that an orthodox scribe who understood κύριος as a reference to Christ would downgrade the reference to a Joshua-Jesus typology, thus representing a lower Christology.

(2) In what way then could Jude have used Ἰησοῦς here? The mention of "Jesus" in Jude 5 is not as strange and unparalleled as many have said. Carroll Osburn has pointed out that a common feature frequently observed in second century literature is the involvement of Christ in Old Testament history, such as Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 120.3, who specifically mentions "Jesus" as "the one who led your fathers out of Egypt."²⁴ Osburn further argues that Christ can also be credited with imprisoning the fallen angels described in v. 6 in view of 1 Pet 3:22 and 1 Enoch 69:26-29, "where the Son of Man sits in judgment upon these angels imprisoned in chains."²⁵ Additionally, early witnesses like Origen (in 1739^{me}) and Didymus were obviously comfortable with the implications of the Ἰησοῦς reading. Further, the general idea of the pre-existence of Christ in the Old Testament does not seem to be only some later tradition found in the writings of the Church Fathers, but shows up in New Testament passages like John 8:58, Heb 11:26, and especially (in a similar Exodus context) in 1 Cor 10:1-11.²⁶ However, it is

²²) Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 309; also Landon, *A Text-Critical Study*, 72-73, as well as now Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude*, 266.

²³) Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 309.

²⁴) Osburn, "The Text of Jude 5," 112.

²⁵) Ibid.

²⁶) Against this, James D.G. Dunn (*Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* [London: SCM, 1980]) has prominently argued that no real doctrine of Christ's personal pre-existence can be found in Paul's writings (thus also arguing against such an interpretation of 1 Cor 10 [184-187]; but cf. S. Kim, *The Origins of Paul's Gospel*, [WUNT III/4; Tübingen: Mohr, 1984], who proposed that Paul was actually the initiator of this doctrine). However, Dunn allowed for references to Christ's pre-existence in later New Testament writings (namely John 1:1-18 and Heb 1:1-4), so that even from his standpoint it would be conceivable that the letter of Jude contained the idea of pre-existence.

exactly in light of this passage from 1 Corinthians that Richard Bauckham has argued that Jude did not intend any direct reference to Christ in v. 5 at all. In his view, 1 Cor 10:4, 9 should be given a purely typological interpretation, which he understands to mean that “Israel tempted and provoked the Lord God, but the corresponding behavior of Paul’s readers would be a tempting and provoking of the Lord Jesus.”²⁷ For Bauckham, a similar understanding of Jude 5-7 is most plausible, namely that κύριος in v. 5 (which he considers as the original reading) refers to the Lord God, whose role as judge is a type for the Lordship now exercised by Christ. I would argue, however, that the difficult passage in 1 Cor 10 is still best understood as indicating the reality of Christ’s presence and involvement in Israel’s history.²⁸ Therefore, in light of the somewhat parallel passage in 1 Cor 10:9 (a tradition certainly predating Jude) where the testing of Christ is followed by destruction, it is entirely possible that the subject in v. 5 is the Lord Jesus and that Jude even attributed “the destruction of those who did not believe (v. 5b)” to him.²⁹ Although the usage of Ἰησοῦς

²⁷) Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 312.

²⁸) Cf. among others Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 447-449, 456-457; Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 217-222; also Jürgen Habermann, *Präexistenzaussagen im Neuen Testament* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990) 215-223, who concludes his discussion by saying: “Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, daß eine Gegenwart und Wirklichkeit des präexistenten Christus vor, bei und nach dem Durchzug durch das Meer tatsächlich für 1 Kor 10 angenommen werden kann.”

²⁹) Osburn, “The Text of Jude 5,” 112, maintains that even the second part of the statement, i.e., that Jesus destroyed the unfaithful, can be observed in second-century literature, but the references given do actually not support this point. Vögtle, *Judasbrief*, 37, remarks that the fact that the destruction of the Israelites is never ascribed to “Jesus,” makes the Ἰησοῦς reading unlikely. But I would argue that in light of this evidence it is even more unlikely that a scribe would intentionally change the text to Ἰησοῦς. Jarl Fossum, “Kyrios Jesus as the Angel of the Lord in Jude 5-7,” 228-233, makes the case that all the actions described in Jude 5-7 could have been attributed to the Angel of the Lord, who was generally identified as Christ himself (e.g. by Justin, *Dial.* 56.22 et al.). Fossum sees this as the background of Jude 5-7. Although the whole concept of the Angel of the Lord is greatly disputed (for a critique of Fossum see Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 310-311), Fossum’s argument receives indirect support from Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents & Early Evidence*, (AGJU 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 325-329. Gieschen argues that in 1 Cor 10:9, Paul might well have understood Christ as the Angel of the Lord whom he further identifies as the “Destroyer” of 1 Cor 10:10 (based on Wis 18:14-25). If this is the case and Paul regarded Christ as the Angel of the Lord associated with judgment in 1 Cor 10, this would be an even closer parallel to Jude 5, where Jesus is also described as the one who judges and destroys.

might have a slightly anachronistic notion, Jude may well have conceived it as an appropriate reference to Christ.³⁰ And in light of a continuous early Christian tradition that regarded Jesus as pre-existent and operative in Old Testament events, “there is certainly no *a priori* reason why Jude could not have written Ἰησοῦς in v. 5 during the mid-first century [or in the late 60s which is a more likely date for Jude].”³¹

In fact, there is further contextual evidence in favor of a reference to Jesus in v. 5. In the preceding context Jude exhorts his readers because of ungodly men who had entered their community denying “our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ [τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν]” (v.4). This article-noun-καί-noun construction fits the Granville Sharp rule (since the nouns are singular, personal, and not proper names), which means that δεσπότην and κύριον have the same referent, Jesus Christ.³² Since the noun δεσπότης is applied to God the Father several times in the New Testament (see Luke 2:29; Acts 4:24; 2 Tim 2:21; Rev 6:10), its attribution to Jesus could be interpreted as reflecting a rather high Christology, including an emphasis of the deity and rule of Christ. Now, in light of this exaltation language, it does seem to be entirely appropriate to have the same referent as subject in v. 5. The reference to “Jesus” in Jude 5 is contextually linked to the denial of the only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ. Therefore, it seems reasonable to read Jude 5-7 as a vibrant portrayal of Christ as the pre-existent judge and thus as an implicit warning by which the readers are exhorted not to follow the men mentioned in v. 4 who had already made the same mistake in rejecting the exalted Christ as was made in the events narrated in Num 14:29-37.³³

Having established Ἰησοῦς as the harder reading in terms of transcriptional probability, it becomes evident that a reference to Jesus acting in the early history of Israel is far less unreasonable than most members of the UBS committee have asserted because (1) although the usage of the personal name “Jesus” remains somewhat striking, the association of the pre-existent Christ

³⁰ It is hardly sound to expect from Jude a precision in his language that we regularly lack. E.g., it would be appropriate for me to say “A couple of years ago I took my wife to the most expensive restaurant in town,” although at the time this took place my wife was not yet my wife but my fiancée. [I am indebted to Michael J. Svigel, who suggested this analogy to me.]

³¹ Osburn, “The Text of Jude 5,” 112.

³² Cf. Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996) 270-278, for a detailed discussion of the Granville Sharp rule.

³³ Similarly Osburn, “The Text of Jude 5,” 113.

with the Exodus may not only be observed in New Testament writings, but in second century literature as well, and (2) the portrayal of Jesus as the exalted judge fits the context in Jude well. Moreover, the observation that the author never employs Ἰησοῦς alone, but always Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,³⁴ does not necessarily suggest that Ἰησοῦς is the inferior reading. Jude may well be capable of variance,³⁵ while it is more unlikely that a scribe would create a reading that could be obviously considered as against the author's style.

3. Conclusion

Most text-critical scholars would concede that the external evidence is clearly in favor of Ἰησοῦς as the original reading. Metzger and Wikgren state in the *Textual Commentary* that "critical principles seem to require the adoption of Ἰησοῦς, which admittedly is the best attested reading among Greek and versional witnesses."³⁶ Most scholars would further agree that Ἰησοῦς is the most difficult reading. However, while the transcriptional probabilities favor Ἰησοῦς as the original reading, many have concluded that this reading is simply too difficult. But in this paper I have sought to demonstrate that even in light of intrinsic probability the Ἰησοῦς reading is indeed *not too hard*. Although difficulties remain, in light of v. 4 and in light of the evidence both in the New Testament and other early Christian writings, it seems totally reasonable. The internal evidence in no way precludes Ἰησοῦς as the original variant, yet, in fact it even seems to prefer it. This is in agreement with the external evidence in its support of Ἰησοῦς as the superior reading. I therefore conclude that the textual decision about the subject of Jude 5 reflected in the *Editio Critica Maior* (as opposed to several recent text-critical studies) is justified.

If Ἰησοῦς may indeed be considered as the original reading in Jude 5, this would clearly highlight the pre-existence of Christ. Further, Jesus' designation as the one who executes judgment comports well with Jude 4

³⁴ This is one of Landon's major arguments against the Ἰησοῦς reading (*A Text-Critical Study*, 73-74).

³⁵ After all, it needs to be maintained that the value of this argument based on the author's style is greatly minimized by the fact that the letter of Jude provides only a very minimal database with little more than a handful of relevant instances.

³⁶ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 657. The reason why Charles Landon argues for the κύριος reading could relate to the fact that he works on the basis of thoroughgoing eclecticism (i.e., he gives little or no weight to external evidence).

(where Christ is described as the ruling Master), thus implicitly arguing for his deity. Therefore, based on our text-critical considerations given above, both verses taken together could be used as an argument for the existence of a high Christology (including Christ's pre-existence) by the time the Epistle of Jude was written.

Bibliographia Gnostica: Supplementum II/8.1 (to be continued)

David M. Scholer
Pasadena

Abstract

This is the first section of the eighth in the series of supplementary bibliographies to David M. Scholer's *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1970-1994* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 32; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997). The second section will be published in issue 50.3 (2008). This supplement contains items published in 2002-2006 (and a few beyond) as well as earlier items which had not been previously listed. This supplement continues the numbering of Supplementum II/7 [*Novum Testamentum* 46 (2004), 46-77] and, thus, begins with number 10627 and contains 917 items. For new reviews of books previously listed, the author, a brief title and bibliography entry number of the book are given.

Keywords

Gnosticism, Gnostic texts, Gnostic schools and teachers, New Testament and Gnosticism

This supplement uses the abbreviations found on pages xviii-xxii of the *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1970-1994* and those introduced in the supplements to this volume. In addition, new abbreviations introduced in this supplement are:

- BMCR Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BNP Brill's New Pauly, 9 vols. to date. Leiden/Boston:
Brill, 2002- .
NCE² New Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vols. 2d ed. Detroit:
Thompson/Gale, 2003.

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Susan Carlson Wood of Fuller Theological Seminary's Faculty Publications Services for her excellent help in the preparation of this manuscript and for her faithfulness over more than a decade.

Regrettably, again, I present (as I did in the last two supplements) an incomplete work. These supplements, which embarrass me to some degree, are this way due to my serious health issues related to cancer. Nevertheless, this eighth supplement includes as much as possible for me for the years 2002-2006.

I first began work on the Nag Hammadi and Gnosticism bibliography in 1967, with the encouragement of our dear friend of blessed memory, Father George W. MacRae. On July 4, 1969 James M. Robinson invited me to submit my work as the first volume in the (then) Nag Hammadi Studies series; it appeared in 1971. A subsequent volume appeared in 1997. This is now the eighth supplement since the second volume; they cover 1995-2006. This now, after forty years, will be my last supplement. I hope that someone will continue this work; such a person will need to fill the many gaps in my 2002-2006 coverage.

I am pleased to report that Stephen Emmel and Brill have agreed to publish a third volume in the NHMS series, integrating the eight supplements since the second volume.

I want especially to thank H.J. de Jonge for his warm support and constant encouragement over the years that *Novum Testamentum* has carried these supplements.

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BG, 3 THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST
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THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP (SEE CG VIII, 2)

TRACTATE 2: A VERSION OF
THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES (SEE CG V, 3)

TRACTATE 3 : THE GOSPEL OF JUDAS

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IV. NEW TESTAMENT AND GNOSTICISM

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Book Reviews

Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, *New International Greek Testament Commentary*, 2005), cxxviii + 989 pp., ISBN 0802823933, \$75.

The Preface outlines what Harris considers to be the five distinctive features of the commentary, namely, a detailed exegesis of the Greek text in defense of the letter's integrity, close attention to grammar, syntax, and textual criticism, an expanded paraphrase of the letter, a chronology of the relations of Paul, Timothy, and Titus, and finally an extended exegesis of 2 Cor 1:8-11 and 5:1-10. A bibliography of 1482 items follows, but it is not exhaustive of all works cited in the commentary. The list of abbreviations, while extensive, does not cover all the abbreviations found throughout the commentary.

Harris provides a detailed treatment of the question whether 2 Corinthians should be seen as one letter or a compilation of several Pauline letters and possibly one non-Pauline letter. He considers many of the objections to the unity of the letter to be "inconclusive or insubstantial" (p. 43). He is willing to grant, however, that our 2 Corinthians was not written on a single occasion but possibly over a several-month period, possibly in the summer and fall of A.D. 56 (p. 50). He wants to maintain, though, that the letter was sent as a single piece of correspondence (p. 51).

Harris provides four "considerations" that support the view that 2 Corinthians is in fact one letter. First, the whole letter is "related to a single, coordinating purpose in writing" and that is to prepare for an imminent visit (p. 44). Secondly, the entire letter forms an *apologia* of his apostolic conduct, ministry, and authority (p. 53), with apologetic, hortatory, and polemical themes spread across all thirteen chapters (p. 46). The letter functions as a defense against those who would question him and his authority (p. 47). Thirdly, the close connection between statements in chapters 1-9 and 10-13 supports the unity of the letter. And finally, the unity hypothesis has fewer unprovable assumptions.

This reviewer is left wondering, though, what sorts of literary evidence would be needed to persuade Harris that 2 Corinthians was a composite of

at least two Pauline letters. Harris concedes that Paul wrote chapters 1-9 sometime prior to chapters 10-13, for it was only after the writing of chapters 1-9 that the situation in Corinth worsened to such an extent that the situation in 10-13 reflects open revolt against Paul (p. 549). Furthermore, if 2 Cor 7:5-16 functions as "an ideal psychological platform from which to launch an appeal for the completion of the collection project" (p. 557), then to what extent do chapters 10-13 undermine the persuasive designs of chapters 7-9?

Harris suggests that the general purpose in writing the letter was to promote the church's upbuilding. This would include their restoration to God, to Paul, and to one another (p. 51). Everything works toward enforcing one primary purpose, "Paul is seeking to prepare the way for an enjoyable third visit to Corinth by removing any obstacles that might prevent that visit from being pleasing and beneficial to all" (pp. 52-53).

What follows is a discussion of five historical issues. To begin, Harris defends the historicity of a second painful visit of Paul to Corinth, shortly after the writing of 1 Corinthians. Then he turns to address changes in travel plans from what Paul had announced in 1 Cor 16:2-8.

Harris provides comprehensive commentary on the textual transmission of the letter. Occasionally, he breaks away from the Greek text of the UBS4/NA27, when for example, at 2 Cor 4:7 he reads "Jesus" instead of "the Lord Jesus" (p. 339), and at 2 Cor 5:3, he reads "putting on" rather than "stripping off" (p. 368).

The commentary makes no attempt at exploring what might be the implications of Paul's letter, whether in the context of Christian community or more broadly for life today. But given the persuasive designs of Paul's writings, one wonders whether an antiquarian interpretation can truly do justice to the letter. For example, no attempt is made to explore what might be the missiological implications of 2 Cor 3:15.

In addition to a solid understanding of the Greek text of 2 Corinthians, some knowledge of Latin will be helpful to make this commentary fully intelligible.

On rare occasion, Harris shows how the Pauline text would have been understood differently by diverse audiences in the first century, whether by Christians, Jews, or Cilician leatherworkers. See, for example, the discussion on page 370 of the word "tent." The commentary would have been strengthened had the reader been exposed to more of this.

Harris says that he has developed in his thinking on the interpretation of 2 Cor 5:1. Previously, he had argued for the view that resurrection

occurred at death, but now he is inclined to think that the resurrection body is ideally received at death but real possession comes at the Parousia (p. 380). According to Harris, this interpretation balances what the text of 2 Cor 5:1 says with what Paul says about the time of the resurrection elsewhere, particularly in 1 Corinthians 15.

To suppose that the meaning of Paul's Greek words is to be found in underlying Hebrew words is to suppose that Paul thought in one language and wrote in another (most unlikely) and that he was not an effective communicator, since for his readers to understand him, they would have had to think hebraically just as Paul supposedly did. This is, of course, to also work with a false dichotomy of "Greek" and "Hebrew." For Harris, not only for 2 Cor 5:1-10, but for all of his thought, there is "no evidence of a complete or even partial Hellenization of Paul's anthropology or eschatology" (p. 410). Harris is, however, sensitive to offering an interpretation that would have been understood by the Corinthians (p. 679).

Harris provides the reader with a sympathetic reading of Paul and his fourth known letter to the Corinthians. Appreciably, Paul is not a model of inner tranquility but neither is he emotionally fragile (p. 527). No one in the ancient world can outmatch him in showing fortitude in adversity (p. 527). And Paul only provides "legitimate psychological pressure" (p. 626) to persuade the Corinthians; he is never manipulative nor abusive in his use of power. His language in 2 Corinthians 10-13 is ironical but never sarcastic or cutting; it builds up, never tears down (p. 783). Paul is entirely unlike other religious leaders who bully and spiritually violate their subordinates into obedience (pp. 786, 787).

Scattered throughout the commentary are helpful charts, for example, a chart listing all the occurrences in 2 Corinthians 10-13 where "certain nameless individuals in the third person" are mentioned (p. 663) and an analysis of the structure of 2 Cor 11.21-29 (pp. 789-792).

Word by word and phrase by phrase, this commentary possesses a richness of grammatical and syntactical analysis. This commentary provides detailed summaries of various interpretations, and at every turn, these summaries will prove themselves useful to the reader.

Kenneth A. Fox

Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006), xi + 248 pp., ISBN 0802828957, \$20.

Apart from a rare fresco, the only other early tangible remains of primitive Christianity to have survived are the manuscripts Christians wrote. It is these literary remains that are the artefacts examined in this fascinating book. As a textual critic, Hurtado has long been concerned with the textual variants found in manuscripts of the New Testament and the attempts to restore the most ancient form of an author's writing. Now he turns to the manuscripts themselves, their form and characteristics, rather than the text. It is an instructive investigation into the physical and visual features and characteristics of early Christian manuscripts. He is not concerned with the social history of scribes nor with the corruptions and changes made to the text. The book has been long in the making; some of the contents have already been published in articles published earlier by Hurtado elsewhere.

Thus some of the chapters may already be familiar to those who have kept an eye on Hurtado's publications. In another sense also, the book may be said not to be innovative, in that what Hurtado is doing here (with great panache and success) is to popularise the pioneering works of C.H. Roberts (notably in his published Schweich Lecture of 1977, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*) and of Eric Turner (in particular his *The Typology of the Early Codex*). These were the innovators. The book then is an introduction into the world of codicology, palaeography and papyrology aimed at a general theological audience who may not have appreciated that these "ologies" had something to say to them.

Three main chapters concern themselves with, respectively, the early Christian preference for the codex over the (sc)roll, the use of *nomina sacra* and the staurogram, and these sections are the most thorough treatments of the evidence currently available. There is no consensus over the answers why the codex and the use of contracted forms for certain (generally divine) names were favoured by Christians. Ten helpful charts and two bar graphs clearly demonstrate the Christians' overwhelming preference for the codex over the roll, but there are no generally agreed explanations why that should be so. Various options are mooted (ease of reference, transportability, a deliberate attempt to emphasise Christian distinctiveness etc.) but the jury is still out. Whether the original Christian authors composed the books of the New Testament in codex form is another open question.

The accidental truncating of Mark (possibly at both ends) at a time before Matthew and Luke used Mark has been explained by some as due to Mark's having been written in a codex. (That need not follow; scrolls too were vulnerable to damage at both ends.)

As far as the origins of the *nomina sacra* and the use of a superscript line over the contraction are concerned, Hurtado sticks his neck out by suggesting gematria was the reason at first why Ιησους was sometimes abbreviated as IH. A line above those letters would naturally imply that it is also the Greek numeral 18; and in Hebrew the letters used for 18 spell the word 'life'. Here he follows Roberts, but Hurtado is aware (p. 152) that the argument may not be persuasive. Such subtlety may seem an improbable expectation for early Christian readers, but Hurtado can of course point to such a play on numbers in Matthew's genealogy, 666 in Rev 13:18; 15:2 and Ep. Barn 9:7-8 (the last, of course, not requiring a knowledge of Hebrew). Later, a dozen or more such contractions are commonly (not invariably) found in manuscripts of Christian origin (whether New Testament or not). Sometimes scribes adopted the common abbreviation/contraction unthinkingly, so that $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ is consistently contracted whatever the context; and one can find examples of $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha$ abbreviated even when used of *bad* spirits! (Hurtado could perhaps have included a catalogue of such uses.) Again, the question why Christians did this results in several answers, none of which attain universal scholarly agreement. Controversies between C.M. Tuckett and Hurtado have given rise to toings and froings in various articles, the contents of which spill over to the present book. The perceptive articles by T.C. Skeat on such matters as the codex, the *nomina sacra* and the contents of early Christian books are, rightly, well discussed throughout.

The compendium of the Greek letters tau and rho in abbreviated forms of $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega$ and $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\varsigma$ to create what seems to be an early pictorial representation of the crucifixion is another distinctive Christian phenomenon found in some manuscripts. One chapter investigates the origin, function and meaning of the staurogram. Another interesting feature of early Christian manuscripts is their variable size. A section on this appears in ch. 5. Presumably miniature codices were prepared for private devotion. (Hurtado could also have investigated the use of some New Testament texts as talismans or amulets, and even—from later times—mss. with hermeneiai, i.e. fortune-telling mottos inserted in the bottom margin of Biblical texts.) Other features in mss. are the amount of space given to the margin, the use of one or more columns of writing per page, and the numbers of lines on

each page; these are among other important palaeographical matters raised in the book. The observation from certain manuscripts that scribes corrected their own errors (or a contemporary diorthotes did so) is made here; James Royse's well-known thesis of 1981 on scribal habits is referred to in this context. (I note with pleasure on p. 188 note 110 that this thesis is, at long last, to be published.)

The opening chapter raises the question what it was that Christians copied. Clearly this included the books that were eventually accepted as the Christian canon of Old and New Testament, but also what became known as the Christian apocrypha and other writings. Hurtado could have underlined the fact that in the earliest period Christians seemed to prefer the Gospel of Thomas to that of Mark; and that one collection (bound together later) comprising P. Bodm. V + VII + VIII + IX + X + XI + XIII + XX contains more than what NT scholars know as ^{P72}. (See Tobias Nicklas and Tommy Wasserman, "Theologische Linien im *Codex Bodmer Miscellani* (sic)?" in Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts and their World* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 161-88.) A useful appendix (I) does, however, list all the Christian literary manuscript remains from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (and some mss. dated from the 4th century and beyond are included, although the fragment of the parchment codex of Hebrews 0252 is not given). These are subdivided, understandably for ease of consultation, but nonetheless anachronistically, into such categories as the "New Testament" and "Apocrypha". The information given in these lists includes the material on which the text is written, typically "pap." or "parch." I am not sure why items numbered 103 and 139 are given as "vellum".

There are nine photographic plates of P46 P45 P75 P66 (NT mss.); P. Chester Beatty VI (OT) and P.Oxy 1, 654 and 655 (Gospel of Thomas). The contents of P45 on the front cover are wrongly given on the back of the jacket; the extract extends beyond Luke 12: 37 to 13:1.

Schøyen is misspelled on pp. 246 and 247.

This is a book that opens many intriguing questions of how Christians regarded the literary artefacts they produced, the status of such writings and how their users were expected to treat such texts.

J.K. Elliott

Bibliographia Gnostica: Supplementum II/8.2

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David M. Scholer
Pasadena

Abstract

This is the second section of the eighth in the series of supplementary bibliographies to David M. Scholer's *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1970-1994* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 32; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997). The first section was published in issue 50.2 (2008). This supplement contains items published in 2002-2006 (and a few beyond) as well as earlier items which had not been previously listed. This supplement continues the numbering of Supplementum II/7 [*Novum Testamentum* 46 (2004), 46-77] and, thus, begins with number 10627 and contains 917 items. For new reviews of books previously listed, the author, a brief title and bibliography entry number of the book are given.

Keywords

Nag Hammadi, Gospel of Judas

V. NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY

GENERAL

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cf. 10528, 11198; for Chapter 3, cf. 10528, 11198, 11200; for Chapter 4, cf. 6114, 10755, 11198; for Chapter 5, cf. 10312; for Chapter 6, cf. 11505; for Chapter 7, cf. 11199; for Chapter 8, cf. 9647; for Chapter 10, cf. 6113, 11497; for Chapter 11, cf. 8558, 11477; for Chapter 13, cf. 5474; for Chapter 14, cf. 6753].

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CODEX I

CG I, 1 THE PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

[A, 1-2] A, 3-38 [B, 1-2] B, 3-9

*(Pr. Paul)**Transcription:* 11160.

ARTICLES

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11161 MEYER, M. "The Prayer of the Messenger Paul," Chapter 19 in 11072, 332-34.

CG I, 1a COLOPHON

(B, 10-11)

CG I, 2 THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES

1, 1-16,30

*(Ap. Jas.)**Translation*

English: 11085.

BOOK

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CG I, 3 THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
16,31-43,24
(*Gos. Truth*)

Transcription: 11173.

Translations

English: 11085, 11168 [= 60 and 6513], 11169 [= 6512].

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See also 10658, 10723, 11035, 11038, 11044, 11046, 11055.

CG I, 4 THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION

43, 25-50, 18

(*Treat. Res.*)

Transcription: 11179.

Translations

English: 11177 [= 2819 and 6644], 11178 [= 6644].

ARTICLES

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CG I, 5 THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

51, 1-138, 25

(*Tri. Trac.*)

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See also 10658, 11035, 11044, 11109.

CODEX II

CG II, 1 THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

1, 1-32, 9

(*Ap. John*)

Transcription: 11196.

Translations

English: 11085, 11185 [= 8657], 11191 [= 6788].

Polish: 11203.

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See also 10708, 10932, 11012, 11098, 11109.

CG II, 2 THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS
32, 10-51, 28
(*Gos. Thom.*)

Transcriptions: 11220 = 11276, 11224 [= 6858], 11299.

Translations

- English: 11076 = 11077 [= 1259], 11085, 11224 [= 6858], 11270
[= 7083], 11272 [= 7083], 11287, 11329.
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CG II, 3 THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP

51, 29-86, 19

(*Gos. Phil.*)

Transcriptions: *11359*, *11360*, *11371*.

Translations

English: *11085*, *11360*, *11362* [= 5799], *11364* [= 9358].

French: *11359*.

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CG II, 4 THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

86, 20-97, 23

*(Hyp. Arch.)**Transcription:* *11378*.*Translations*English: *11375* [= 7422], *11441* [= 7421].Russian: *11376*.

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- See also *10708*, *11199*, *11201*, *11441*.

CG II, 5 ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

97, 24-127, 17

*(Orig. World)**Translations*

English: 11379 [= 7472 and 7474], 11380 [= 7472].

Russian: 11381.

ARTICLES

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CG II, 6 THE EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL

127, 18-137, 27

*(Exeg. Soul)**Translations*

English: 11384 [= 7529], 11385 [= 7529].

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See also 11125.

CG II, 7 THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

138, 1-145, 19

(*Thom. Cont.*)

Transcription: 11389.

Translation

English: 11085.

ARTICLES

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See also 11322.

CODEX III

CG III, 1 THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

[1, 1-13] 1, 14-40, 11

(Ap. John)

CG III, 2 THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

40, 12-69, 20

*(Gos. Eg.)**Translation*

English: 11085.

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- See also 10854, 11152, 11414-15.

CG III, 3 EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED

70, 1-90, 13

(Eugnostos)

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- 11399 HARTENSTEIN, J. "Anmerkungen zu den vier koptischen Versionen von 'Eugnostos' und der 'Sophia Jesu Christi,'" in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000 (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 749-58.
- 11400 HYLDAHL, J. "A Semiotic Study of the Role of Text and Reader in Eugnostos the Blessed (NHC III, 3 and V, 1)," AARSBLA 2002 (2002), 276.
- 11401 HYLDAHL, J. "Text and Reader in *Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC III, 3 and V, 1)," 10666, 373-87.
- 11402 KHOSROYEV, A.L. "Zur Frage nach *Eugnostos* in Codex III von Nag Hammadi," 11079, 24-34.
- 11403 POIRIER, P.-H. "Deux doxographies sur le destin et le gouvernement du monde: Le *Livre des lois des pays et Eugnoste* (NG III, 3 et V, 1)," 10666, 761-86.

See also 11109.

CG III, 4 THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST
90, 14-119, 18
(*Soph. Jes. Chr.*)

ARTICLES

- 11404 HARTENSTEIN, J. "Sophia Jesu Christi," RGG⁴ 7 (2004), 1453.
- 11405 KLAUCK, H.-J. "Der Sophia Jesu Christi," §8a) in *Apokryphe Evangelien: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 191-98. Equals 11406.
- 11406 KLAUCK, H.-J. "The Sophia of Jesus Christ," §8a) in *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (trans. B. McNeil; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 147-52. Equals 11405.

See 11131, 11399.

CG III, 5 THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR

120, 1-149, 23

*(Dial. Sav.)**Translations*

English: 11085.

Polish: 11413.

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- 11407 Létourneau, P. *Le Dialogue du Sauveur* (NH III, 5): Texte établi, traduit et présenté. (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Textes" 29.) Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval/Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 2003.

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- 11408 CHARRON, R. "Le dieu 'sèmeur' dans le *Dialogue du Sauveur* (NHC III,5)," 11074, 127-37.
- 11409 DILLEY, P.C. "Talking about the Soul and Its Ascent in the *Dialogue of the Savior*: On 'Visible Voices' and the Interaction of the Oral and the Visual," in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000 (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 709-21.
- 11410 DUNN, J.D.G. "Other Gospels," §7.8 in *Jesus Remembered* (Christianity in the Making 1; Grand Rapids/Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 167-72.
- 11411 KLAUCK, H.-J. "Der Dialog des Erlösers," §9b) in *Apokryphe Evangelien: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 238-46. Equals 11412.
- 11412 KLAUCK, H.-J. "The Dialogue of the Saviour," §9b) in *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (trans. B. McNeil; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 185-91. Equals 11411.
- 11413 MYSZOR, W. "Dialog zbawcy: Wstęp i tłumaczenie utworu z biblioteki z Nag Hammadi (*Nag Hammadi Codex* III, 5)," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 36 (2003), 490-503.

See also 10847, 10854, 11112, 11184, 11351.

CODEX IV

CG IV, 1 THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

1, 1-49, 28

(*Ap. John*)

CG IV, 2 THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

50, 1-81, 2 [81, 3-end]

(*Gos. Eg.*)

Transcription: 11414.

ARTICLES

11414 LAYTON, B. "The Egyptian Gospel," 11080, 82-101.

11415 MEYER, M. "The Baptismal Ceremony of the Gospel of the Egyptians," Chapter 11 in 11072, 218-23.

CODEX V

CG V, 1 EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED

1, 1-17, 18

(*Eugnostos*)

See 11399-11401, 11403.

CG V, 2 THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

17, 19-24, 9

(*Apoc. Paul*)

BOOK AND REVIEW

11416 ROSENSTIEHL, J.-M. [Texte établi, traduit et introduit] and KALER, M. [Commenté (in English)]. L'Apocalypse de Paul (NH V,2). (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section

“Textes” 31.) Sainte-Foy, QC: Les Presses de l’Université Laval/Leuven: Peeters, 2005.

11417r PEARSON, B.A. *RelSRev* 32 (2006), 200.

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11418 KALER, M. “Contextualizing the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” *LTP* 61 (2005), 233-46 (NTA 50.1499).

11419 KALER, M.; PAINCHAUD, L.; and BUSSIÈRES, M.-P. “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*, Irenaeus’ *Adversus Haereses* 2.30.7, and the Second-Century Battle for Paul’s Legacy,” *J ECS* 12 (2004), 173-93 (NTA 49.747).

11420 HARRISON, J.R. “In Quest of the Third Heaven: Paul & His Apocalyptic Imitators,” *VC* 58 (2004), 24-55 (NTA 48.2073).

11421 PLISCH, U.-K. “Die Apokalypse des Paulus (NHC V,2),” *11094*, 399-405.

11422 ROSENSTIEHL, J.-M. “La montagne de Jéricho (NH V, 2, 19, 11-13): Contribution à l’étude de l’*Apocalypse copte de Paul*,” *10666*, 885-92.

See also *10748*, *11125*.

CG V, 3 THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

24, 10-44, 10

(*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

See Codex Tchacos, Tractate 2 for a new text.

ARTICLE

11423 SCHLETTERER, I. und PLISCH, U.-K. “Die (erste) Apokalypse des Jakobus (NHC V,3),” *11094*, 407-18.

CG V, 4 THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

44, 11-63, 33

(2 *Apoc. Jas.*)

ARTICLES

- 11424 KAISER, U.U. und PLISCH, U.-K. "Die (zweite) Apokalypse des Jakobus (NHC V,4)," *11094*, 419-32.
- 11425 RASKIN, J. "Deconstructing Christian Mythology," *Journal of Higher Criticism* 10 (2003), 23-40 (NTA 48.1756).

CG V, 5 THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

64, 1-85, 32

(*Apoc. Adam*)

Transcription: 11430.

Translations

English: 11426 [= 7859].

Russian: 11428.

ARTICLES

- 11426 BARNSTONE, W. "The Revelation of Adam," Chapter 6 in *11072*, 178-88 [translation = 7859].
- 11427 BELTZ, W. "Die Apokalypse des Adam (NHC V,5)," *11094*, 433-41.
- 11428 ELANSKAIA, A.I. "The Apocalypse of Adam," in *The Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers: The Coptic Language Literature (Ancient Christianity: Sources; St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2001)*, 343-50 [in Russian].
- 11429 GIANOTTO, C. "L'identità religiosa tra gli gnostici: I gruppi 'sethiani,'" *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 21 (2004), 47-58 (NTA 49.2099).
- 11430 LAYTON, B. "The Revelation of Adam," *11080*, 37-47.
- 11431 PARROTT, D.M. "A Sethian Genesis in the Apocalypse of Adam (NHC V,5)," *AARSBLA 2003* (2003), 99.

- 11432 SO, K.-C. "Jewish Influences on Gnosticism in the Apocalypse of Adam (NHL V,5: 64, 1-85, 32)," SBL International Meeting 2003 Abstracts (2003), 77.

See also 10708.

CODEX VI

GENERAL

ARTICLE

- 11433 WILLIAMS, M.A. and JENOTT, L. "Inside the Covers of Codex VI," 10666, 1025-57.

CG VI, 1 THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

1, 1-12, 22

(*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)

ARTICLES

- 11434 CZACHESZ, I. "The Identity of Lithargoel in the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve*," 10636, 485-502.
- 11435 KLAUCK, H.-J. "Die Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel," §6 in *Apokryphe Apostelakten: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart; Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005), 191-201.
- 11436 LAPHAM, F. "The *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*," Chapter 3 in *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings: A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition* (JSNTSup 239; London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 71-82.
- 11437 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Die Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel (NHC VI,1)," 11094, 443-53.
- 11438 TUBACH, J. "Reisewege der Apostel in den *Acti Petri* aus Nag Hammadi," 10636, 461-83.

CG VI, 2 THE THUNDER, PERFECT MIND

13, 1-21, 32

(Thund.)

Transcription: 11442.

Translations

English: 11439 [= 7946], 11441 [= 7945].

ARTICLES

- 11439 BARNSTONE, W. "Thunder," Chapter 12 in 11072, 224-32 [translation = 7946].
- 11440 FISHER, M.P. and BAILEY, L.W. "The Thunder, Perfect Mind," a section in An Anthology of Living Religions (2d ed.; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008), 233-34.
- 11441 KRAEMER, R.S. "Aspects of Female Divinity in Three Gnostic Texts," §132 in Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 458-72 [§132A Thunder, Perfect Mind, 459-64 (translation = 7945); §132B, The Thought of Norea, 465 (translation = 8339); §132C The Hypostasis of the Archons; or, The Reality of the Rulers, 465-72 (translation = 7421)]. Equals 7937.
- 11442 LAYTON, B. "The Thunder—Perfect Intellect," 11080, 58-65.
- 11443 PLISCH, U.-K. "Die Brontê—Vollkommener Verstand (NHC VI,2)," 11094, 455-66.

CG VI, 3 AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

22, 1-35, 24

(Auth. Teach.)

ARTICLE

- 11444 HEYDEN, K. und KULAWIK, C. "Authentikos Logos (NHC VI,3)," 11094, 467-81.

CG VI, 4 THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

36, 1-48, 15

(Great Pow.)

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WILLIAMS, F.E. *Mental Perception*. . . [10585]11445r PEARSON, B.A. *RelSRev* 28 (2002), 78.11446r WILSON, R.McL. *JTS* 53 (2002), 693-95.

ARTICLE

- 11447 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Das Verständnis unserer grossen Kraft (NHC VI,4)," *11094*, 483-93.

CG VI, 5 PLATO, REPUBLIC 588A-589B

48, 16-51, 23

(Plato Rep.)

ARTICLE

- 11448 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Platon, Politeia 588A-589B (NHC VI,5)," *11094*, 495-97.

CG VI, 6 THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH

52, 1-63, 32

(Disc. 8-9)

REVIEWS

CAMPLANI, A. *Scritti ermetici*. . . [10370]11449r BRANKAER, J. *Muséon* 115 (2002), 219-20.11450r Müller, C.D.G. *Oriens Christianus* 85 (2001), 270-72.

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- 11451 BARNSTONE, W. "Hermetic Literature: Introduction," *11072*, 497-501.
- 11452 BROEK, R. VAN DEN. "Hermes en zijn gemeente te Alexandrië," in *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen: Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van*

het Westen (ed. G. Quispel; Baarn: Tirion, 1992), 9-26. Equals 10587.

- 11453 FÖRSTER, N. "Zaubertexte in ägyptischen Tempelbibliotheken und die hermetische Schrift 'Über die Achtheit und Neunheit,'" in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings on the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000 (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 723-37.
- 11454 KRAUSE, M. "Die hermetischen Nag Hammadi Texte" 11079, 61-72.
- 11455 ΜΑΗÉ, J.-P. "Accolade ou baiser? Sur un rite hermétique de régénération, ἀσπάξεσθαι en NH VI, 57,26 et 65,4," 10666, 557-65.
- 11456 ΜΑΗÉ, J.-P. "Mental Faculties and Cosmic Levels in *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NH VI,6) and Related Hermetic Writings," 11079, 73-83.
- 11457 ΜΑΗÉ, J.-P. "De weg naar de onsterfelijkheid," in *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen: Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van het Westen* (ed. G. Quispel; Baarn: Tirion, 1992), 27-52.
- 11458 MEYER, M. "The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth," Chapter 33 in 11072, 512-20.
- 11459 PETERSEN, T. "Hermetic Dualism? CH. VI. against the Background of Nag Hammadi Dualistic Gnosticism," in 11079, 95-102.
- 11460 TRÖGER, K.-W. "'Über die Achtheit und Neunheit' (NHC VI,6)," 11094, 499-518.
- 11461 ZANDEE, J. "Het Hermetisme en het Oude Egypte," in *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen: Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van het Westen* (ed. G. Quispel; Baarn: Tirion, 1992), 96-174.

See also 10790.

CG VI, 7 THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

63, 33-65, 7

(Pr. Thanks.)

Scribal Note: 65, 8-14

ARTICLES

11462 MEYER, M. "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," Chapter 34 in *11072*, 521-23.

11463 TRÖGER, K.-W. "'Ein (hermetisches) Dankgebet' (NHC VI,7)," *11094*, 519-25.

See also *10790*, *11449r-50r*, *11454-55*, *11457*, *11459*, *11461*.

CG VI, 8 ASCLEPIUS 21-29

65, 15-78, 43

(Asclepius)

ARTICLES

11464 HOLZHAUSEN, J. "'Asklepios' (NHC VI,8)," *11094*, 527-41.

11465 RIAD, O.F. "Les sources d'Asclépius 21-29," in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000* (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 793-809.

See also *10790*, *11449r-50r*, *11454*, *11457*, *11459*, *11461*.

CODEX VII

CG VII, 1 THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM

1, 1-49, 9

(Paraph. Shem)

Translation

English: *11467* [= 8991].

REVIEW

- ROBERGE, M. *La Paraphrase de Sem* (NH VII, 1)... [10373]
11466r FRENCH, W.H.C. JEH 53 (2002), 773.

ARTICLES

- 11467 BARNSTONE, W. "The Paraphrase of Shem," Chapter 28 in
11072, 438-64 [translation = 8991].
11468 ROBERGE, M. "L'analogie sexuelle et embryologique dans la
Paraphrase de Sem (NH VII, 1)," *10666*, 847-71.
11469 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Die Paraphrase des Sêm (NHC VII, 1),"
11094, 543-68.

See also *11152*.

CG VII, 2 THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH
49, 10-70, 12
(*Treat. Seth*)

Translations

English: *11470* [= 8122 and 8992], *11471* [= 8122].

ARTICLES

- 11470 BARNSTONE, W. "The Second Treatise of the Great Seth," Chap-
ter 29 in *11072*, 465-76 [translation = 8122 and 8992].
11471 EHRMAN, B.D. "The Second Treatise of the Great Seth," in *Lost
Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament*
(Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 82-86
[translation = 8122].
11472 PELLEGRINI, S. "Der zweite Logos des grossen Seth (NHC
VII,2)," *11094*, 569-90.

CG VII, 3 APOCALYPSE OF PETER
70, 13-84, 14
(*Apoc. Pet.*)

Translation

English: *11474* [= 8137].

REVIEW

- HAVELAAR, H.W. Coptic Apocalypse of Peter. . . [10137]
11473r PEARSON, B.A. *RelSRev* 28 (2002), 379.

ARTICLES

- 11474 EHRMAN, B.D. "The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter," in *Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 78-81 [translation = 8137].
- 11475 HAVELAAR, H.W. "Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)," *11094*, 591-600.
- 11476 LAPHAM, F. "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*," Chapter 9 in *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings: A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition* (JSNTSup 239; London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 217-36.
- 11477 LUTTIKHUIZEN, G.P. "The Suffering Jesus and the Invulnerable Christ in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Peter*," Chapter 12 in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz; *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* 7; Louvain: Peeters, 2003), 187-99.
- 11478 MOLINARI, A.L. "The Apocalypse of Peter and its Dating," *10666*, 583-605.

CG VII, 4 THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS

84, 15-118, 7

(Teach. Silv.)

Scribal Note: 118, 8-9

ARTICLES

- 11479 FERNÁNDEZ SANGRADOR, J.J. "El origen alejandrino de *Enseñanzas de Silvano*," in *Plenitudo Temporis: Miscelánea Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Ramón Trevijano Etcheverría* (ed. J.J. Fernández Sangrador y S. Guijarro Oporto; *Bibliotheca Salmanticensis, Estudios* 249; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 2002), 393-401 (Spanish and English abstracts, 393-94).
- 11480 PEARSON, B.A. "Cracking a Conundrum: Christian Origins in Egypt," *Studia Theologica* 57 (2003), 61-75 (NTA 48.729).

11481 PLISCH, U.-K. "Silvanus, Die Lehren des," RGG⁴ 7 (2004), 1320-21.

11482 SCHENKE, H.-M. und FUNK, W.P. "Die Lehren des Silvanus (NHC VII, 4)," 11094, 601-24.

See also 11125.

CG VII, 5 THE THREE STELES OF SETH

118, 10-127, 27

(*Steles Seth*)

Colophon: 127, 28-32

Transcription: 11484.

ARTICLES

11483 BETHGE, H.-G. "Seth, Die drei Stelen des," RGG⁴ 7 (2004), 1236.

11484 LAYTON, B. "The Three Tablets of Seth," 11080, 130-37.

11485 MEYER, M. "The Three Steles of Seth," Chapter 8 in 11072, 201-11.

11486 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Die drei Stelen des Seth (NHC VII, 5)," 11094, 625-32.

See also 11491.

CODEX VIII

CG VIII, 1 ZOSTRIANOS

1, 1-132, 9

(*Zost.*)

Transcription: 11490 (partial).

ARTICLES

11487 ABRAMOWSKI, L. "Nicänismus und Gnosis im Rom des Bischofs Liberius: Der Fall des Marius Victorinus," ZAC/JAC 8 (2004), 513-66 (NTA 51.737).

11488 BÖHM, T. "Zostrianus," RGG⁴ 8 (2004), 1908.

- 11489 HOLZHAUSEN, J. "Zostrianos," DNP 12/2 (2002), 846.
- 11490 LAYTON, B. "Zostrianos," 11080, 102-21.
- 11491 MAJERCIK, R. "Porphyry and Gnosticism," *Classical Quarterly* 55 (2005), 277-92.
- 11492 MEYER, M. "The Sermon of Zostrianos," Chapter 10 in 11072, 215-17.
- 11493 SCHENKE, H.-M. "Zostrianus (NHC VIII, 1)," 11094, 633-62.
- 11494 TURNER, J.D. "Gnostic Sethianism and the Pre-Plotinian Theological Interpretation of Plato's *Parmenides*," in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000* (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 811-27.
- See also 10833, 11012, 11015.

CG VIII, 2 THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP
132, 10-140, 27
(*Ep. Pet. Phil.*)

See Codex Tchacos, Tractate 1 for a new text.

ARTICLES

- 11495 BETHGE, H.-G. "Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus (NHC VIII,2)," 11094, 663-76.
- 11496 LAPHAM, F. "The *Epistle of Peter to Philip*," Chapter 7 in *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings: A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition* (JSNTSup 239; London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 172-92.
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- 11498 MARJANEN, A. "The Suffering of One who Is a Stranger to Suffering: The Crucifixion of Jesus in the Letter of Peter to

Philip,” in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen* (ed. I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett and K. Syreeni; *NovTSup* 103; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 487-98.

11499 MEYER, M. “The Letter of Peter to Philip,” Chapter 13 in *11072*, 233-38.

See also *11131*, *11201*.

CODICES IX-X

CG IX, 1 MELCHIZEDEK

1, 1-27, 10

(Melch.)

REVIEWS

FUNK, W.-P.; MAHÉ, J.-P.; and GIANOTTO, C. *Melchisédek*. . . [10608]

11500r PEARSON, B.A. *RelSRev* 29 (2003), 202.

11501r WILSON, R.McL. *JTS* 54 (2003), 299-303.

ARTICLES

11502 GIANOTTO, C. “Quelques remarques à propos de Melchisédek (NHC IX, 1),” in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000 (ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet; 2 Vols.; *Orientalia Lovanien-sia* 133; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 739-48.

11503 SCHENKE, H.-M. “Melchisedek (NHC IX, 1),” *11094*, 677-89.

CG IX, 2 THE THOUGHT OF NOREA

27, 11-29, 5

(*Norea*)

Translation

English: *11441* [= *8339*].

ARTICLES

- 11504 KAISER, U.U. und PLISCH, U.-K. "Die Ode über Norea' (NHC IX, 2)," 11094, 691-96.
- 11505 LUTTIKHUIZEN, G.P. "A Resistant Interpretation of the Paradise Story in the Gnostic *Testimony of Truth* (Nag Hamm. Cod. IX.2) 45-50," in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G.P. Luttikhuisen; *Themes in Biblical Narrative* 2, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1999), 140-52.

See also 11441.

CG IX, 3 THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH
29, 6-74, 31 [... 75, xx or 76, xx]
(*Testim. Truth*)

ARTICLE

- 11506 PLISCH, U.-K. "Das Zeugnis der Wahrheit' (NHC IX, 3) ('*Testimonium Veritatis*')," 11094, 697-712.

See also 11038, 11125.

CG X, 1 MARSANES
1, 1-72, 18
(*Marsanes*)

REVIEWS

- FUNK, W.-P. *Concordance... Les Codices X et XIA...* [10392]
11507r WILSON, R.McL. *JEH* 53 (2002), 772.
- FUNK, W.-P.; POIRIER, P.-H. and TURNER, J.D. *Marsanès...* [10394]
11508r PEARSON, B.A. *RelSRev* 28 (2002), 280.
See also 11501r.

ARTICLES

- 11509 BRANKAER, J. "*Marsanes*: Un texte Séthien Platonisant?" *Mus* 118 (2005), 21-41 (NTA 50.745).
- 11510 FUNK, W.-P. "Marsanes (NHC X)," 11094, 713-33.

- 11511 HOLZHAUSEN, J. "Marsanes," BNP 8 (2006), 402-03. Equals 10149.
 11512 PEARSON, B.A. "*Marsanes Revisited*," 10666, 685-96.

CODICES XI-XIII

CG XI, 1 THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE

1, 1-21, 35

(*Interp. Know.*)

ARTICLES

- 11513 EMMEL, S. "Exploring the Pathway That Leads from Paul to Gnosticism: What Is the Genre of The Interpretation of Knowledge (NHC XI, 1)?" in *Die Weisheit—Ursprünge und Rezeption: Festschrift für Karl Löning zum 65. Geburtstag* (hrsg. M. Fassnacht, A. Leinhäupl-Wilke, S. Lücking; NTAbh 44; Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 257-76.
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 11515 PAINCHAUD, L. "The Interpretation of Knowledge: A Rhetorical Analysis (CG XI, 1)," AARSBLA 2005 (2005), 196.
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 11518 PLISCH, U.-K. "Die Auslegung der Erkenntnis (NHC XI, 1)," 11094, 735-46.
 11519 THOMASSEN, E. "An Unknown Sayings Gospel," AARSBLA 2003 (2003), 122-23.
 11520 TITE, P. "An Exploration of Valentinian Paraenesis: Rethinking Gnostic Ethics in the Interpretation of Knowledge (NHC XI, 1)," AARSBLA 2002 (2002), 277.

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See also 11035.

CG XI, 2 A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION

22, 1-39, 39

(*Val. Exp.*)

Translation

English: 11522 [= 8422].

ARTICLES

- 11522 BARNSTONE, W. and MEYER, M. "Valentinian Liturgical Readings," Chapter 20 in 11072, 335-39 [translation = 8422].

- 11523 FUNK, W.-P. "'Valentinianische Abhandlung' (NHC XI, 2)," 11094, 747-62.

See also 11035.

CG XI, 2a ON THE ANOINTING

[40, 1-7] 40, 8-29

(*On Anoint.*)

CG XI, 2b ON BAPTISM A

40, 30-41, 38

(*On Bapt. A*)

CG XI, 2c ON BAPTISM B

[42, 1-9] 42, 10-43, 20

(*On Bapt. B*)

CG XI, 2d ON EUCHARIST A

43, 21-38

(*On Euch. A*)

CG XI, 2e ON EUCHARIST B

[44, 1-14] 44, 15-37

(*On Euch. B*)

CG XI, 3 ALLOGENES
[45, 1-4] 45, 5-69, 20
(*Allogenes*)

Transcriptions: 11529, 11531 (partial).

Translations

English: 11533.

French: 11529.

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- 11524 FUNK, W.-P., POIRIER, P.-H., SCOPELLO, M., and TURNER, J.D. *L'Allogène* (NH XI,3). (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Textes" 30.) Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval/Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 2004. Cf. 11521-11529, 11533.
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- 11526 FUNK, W.-P. "Allogenes (NHC XI, 3)," 11094, 763-87.
11527 FUNK, W.-P. "Index," 11524, 259-85.
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11530 KING, K.L. "Hearing, Seeing, and Knowing God: *Allogenes* and the *Gospel of Mary*," Chapter 23 in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols; Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (ed. D.H. Warren, A.G. Brock, D.W. Pao; Biblical Interpretation Series 66; Boston/Leiden: Brill Academic, 2003), 319-31.
11531 LAYTON, B. "The Foreigner," 11080, 122-29.
11532 MEYER, M. "The Vision of the Foreigner," Chapter 9 in 11072, 212-14.
11533 TURNER, J.D. "Introduction," 11524, 1-188.
See also 10764, 11109, 11491, 11494.

CG XI, 4 HYPHISPHRONE
69, 21-72, 33 [...72, 37]
(*Hypsiph.*)

ARTICLE

- 11534 FUNK, W.-P. "Hypsiphrone (NHC XI, 4)," *11094*, 789-93.

CG XII (GENERAL)

See *11168*, *11177*.

CG XII, 1* THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS
[1*, 1-14*, end] 15*, 1-34*, 28 [35*, 1-39*, xx]
(*Sent. Sextus*)

ARTICLES

- 11535 KANY, R. "Sextus, Sentenzen," *RGG*⁴ 7 (2004), 1243.
11536 PLISCH, U.-K. und SCHENKE, H.-M. "Die Sextussprüche (NHC XII, 1)," *11094*, 795-806.

CG XII, 2* THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
[39*, xx-53*, 18] 53*, 19-60*, 30 [61*, 1-67*, end]
(*Gos. Truth*)

CG XII, 3* FRAGMENTS
[68*, 1...]...

CG XIII, 1* TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA
35*, 1-50*, 24
(*Trim. Prot.*)

Transcription: *11541*.

Translations

English: *11537* [= 8515], *11539* [= 8515].

Russian: *11540*.

ARTICLES

- 11537 BARNSTONE, W. "Three Forms of First Thought," Chapter 7 in *11072*, 189-200 [translation = 8515].

- 11538 DENZEY, N.F. "Genesis Exegetical Traditions in Trimorphic Protennoia," AARSBLA 2002 (2002), 252.
- 11539 EHRLMAN, B.D. "The First Thought in Three Forms," in *Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 316-23 [translation = 8515].
- 11540 ELANSKAIA, A.I. "Trimorphic Protennoia," in *The Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers: The Coptic Language Literature* (Ancient Christianity: Sources; St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2001), 351-76 [in Russian].
- 11541 LAYTON, B. "First Thought in Three Forms," 11080, 66-81.
- 11542 LUISIER, P. "De Philon d'Alexandrie à la *Prôtennoia trimorphe*: Variations sur un thème de grammaire grecque," 10666, 535-55.
- 11543 ROBINSON, G.S. "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (NHC XIII, 1)," 11094, 807-31.

CG XIII, 2* ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD
 50*, 25-34 [51*, 1-79*, xx]
 (*Orig. World*)

Envisioning Crucifixion: Light from Several Inscriptions and the Palatine Graffito*

John Granger Cook

LaGrange, Georgia

Abstract

The Palatine graffito of a crucified man with an ass's head, a graffito that uses crucifixion as an obscenity, and the remnant of a crucified man's foot transfixed by a nail provide visual imagery of ancient Roman practice. Less well known to NT scholars are two Latin inscriptions that mention crucifixion. One describes a contract for a public undertaker that includes a number of references to crucifixion and the torture that accompanied it. Private individuals, for example, could have their slaves crucified for a modest sum. Another inscription includes a reference to an alleged crucifixion of a Roman centurion by Piso. It helps indicate how rare crucifixion was in the case of citizens. The inscriptions and graffiti illuminate crucifixion—a central focus of NT texts and NT theology.

Keywords

lex Puteoli, crucifixion, Palatine graffito

For Martin Hengel with gratitude

Although the Palatine graffito of a crucified man with an ass's head is well known to NT scholars, less well known are Latin inscriptions that mention crucifixion.¹ An intriguing inscription found in Puteoli during

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¹⁾ On the graffito see H. Solin and M. Itkonen-Kaila, *Graffiti del Palatino. I. Paedagogium* (ed. V. Väänänen; AIRF 3; Helsinki: AIRF, 1966) 209-212; G. Rinaldi, *La Bibbia dei*

World War II was published in 1967—probably entitled [*De publi*]co *libitin*[ae] (on the public service of the undertaker).² Lucio Bove's restoration of the text to *De munere publico libitinario* (on the public "libitinarian" service) is problematic since *libitinarius* is an adjective used to mean "the undertaker" or "entrepreneur" in texts such as Petronius 38, 78, Seneca, *Ben.* 6.38.4 and Ulpian, *Edict.* 28 in *Dig.* 14.3.5.8 (cf. *OLD* s.v.).³ The word is not used as an abstract adjective to modify neuter nouns such as *munus* (duty, post). In addition the inscription itself uses *publicum* and *libitina* as objects of the verb *exercere* (to exercise) in II.27 (*id publicum exserceb[it]* who exercised that public office) and II.16 (*ad eum locum*) / 17 (*quem libitinae exsercend[ae]* at that place which for the sake of exercising the services of the undertaker...).⁴ The *Tabula Heracleensis* (ca. I B.C.E.) has a provision that undertakers (among others) cannot be magistrates, decurions, duovirs, senators, etc. (*Neue quis, quei praeconuim dissignationem libitinamve facit*... nor anyone, who is an auctioneer, funeral director, or undertaker...). Undertakers were nevertheless individuals of means and importance.⁵ Although the date of the inscription is undetermined (perhaps 27 B.C.E.-14 C.E. or earlier in I B.C.E.), it offers some insight into the depiction of the crucifixion on the Palatine graffito and on crucifixion in general. Another inscription concerning the alleged crucifixion of

pagani. I. *Quadro storico* (La Bibbia nella storia 19; Bologna: Dehoniane, 1998) 1.121-123. The graffito was found on the wall of room seven of the imperial *paedagogium* (training school for slaves). My focus will be on an inscription first published by Lucio Bove ("Due iscrizioni da Pozzuoli e Cuma," *RAAN, seduta 12 dicembre 1966*, n.s. 41 [1967] 207-221 = *Labeo* 13 [1967], 22-48 [I will refer to the second article]). It and a somewhat comparable inscription from Cumae appeared respectively in *AE* 1971, § 88, 89 (the latter probably concerned the territory of Baia).

² On the restoration to *libitinae* (and these arguments) see F. Hinard and J.C. Dumont, ed., *Libitina: Pompes funèbres et supplices in Campanie à l'époque d'Auguste* (Paris: De Boccard, 2003) 3-4. J. Bodel, "The Organization of the Funerary Trade at Puteoli and Cumae," *Libitina e dintorni*... (ed. S. Panciera; *Libitina* 3; Rome: Quasar 2004) 147-172, esp. 148 restores the title to [*De publi*]co *libitina*[rio].

³ Bove, "Due iscrizioni," 25 and *AE* 1971, § 88. These four are the only usages in the Latin authors on the Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM #5.3. 1) *Latin Texts* 2) *Bible versions*, 1991.

⁴ For this last usage see *OLD* s.v. *libitina* 2.

⁵ Cf. *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* I (ed. S. Riccobono; Florence: Barbèra, 1968) 147.94-105. On that text see J.-J. Aubert, "Corpse Disposal in the Roman Colony of Puteoli," *Noctes Campanae: Studi di storia antica ed archeologia dell'Italia preromana e romana in memoria di Martin W. Frederiksen* (ed. W.V. Harris and E. Lo Cascio; Naples: Luciano, 2005) 141-157, esp. 151.

a Roman centurion (a citizen) helps indicate how rare such punishment was in the case of citizens.⁶ Below I will discuss aspects of the inscriptions and graffito that help illuminate crucifixion, a central focus of the texts of the NT. My purpose in writing this paper is to make these very interesting inscriptions better known to the guild of NT scholars.⁷ The specific points that I will emphasize below will resonate with many elements of NT (and patristic) texts that depict the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth and his followers.

The *lex Puteoli* concerns a municipality which decided to contract out the services of an undertaker who doubled as executioner. The rather macabre text has been studied at length by philologists, but deserves a greater hearing in our guild.⁸ The requirements for the contracted undertaker include the following: the undertaker has to have at least 32 workers, the workers have to be between the ages of twenty and fifty, cannot be knock-kneed, blind in one eye, maimed, have a limp, blind, or branded with tattoos.⁹ The funerary workers cannot enter town except when engaging in

⁶ See the section below: "The Citizen's Body and the Cross" (*Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*).

⁷ One reference to the *lex Puteoli* by scholars interested in the NT is in an online article by Andrea Berlin and Jodi Magness, "Two Archaeologists Comment on *The Passion of the Christ*," Archaeological Institute of America (March 2004) http://www.archaeological.org/pdfs/papers/Comments_on_The_Passion.pdf (accessed Sept. 2, 2007).

⁸ Cf. Hinard and Dumont, *Libitina* and the authors in Panciera, *Libitina*; J. Pölönen, "Plebeians and Repression of Crime in the Roman Empire: From Torture of Convicts to Torture of Suspects," *RIDA* 51 (2004) 217-257 esp. 223; F. de Martino, "I 'supplicia' dell'iscrizione di Pozzuoli," *Labeo* 21 (1975) 21-24; J. Bodel, "Graveyards and Groves: A study of the Lex Lucerina," *American Journal of Ancient History* 11 (1986 [1994]) 1-133, esp. 72-80 (dates it to the first half of the first century B.C.E.); C. Lovisi, "Les supplices," Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 89-95; J.-J. Aubert, "A Double Standard in Roman Criminal Law? The Death Penalty and Social Structure in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome," *Speculum Iuris: Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity* (ed. J.-J. Aubert and B. Sirks; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002) 94-133; esp. 113-114; Aubert, "Corpse Disposal," 141-157; J. Bodel, "Dealing with the Dead: Undertakers, Executioners and Potter's Fields in Ancient Rome," *Death and Disease in the Ancient City* (ed. V. M. Hope and E. Marshall; London/New York: Routledge, 2000) 128-151, esp. 143-146.

⁹ II.6: *dum ne quis eor(um) maior ann(or)um L minorve anno(rum) XX sit neve v[at]i[us] neve luscus neve manc(us) neve clodus* / 7 *neve caec[us] neve stigmati(ibus) inscript(us) sit, et «dum» ne pauciores manceps oper(as) habeat quam XXXII.*^{VACAT} See OLD s.v. *stigma* for the evidence that runaway slaves and criminals were branded. John Bodel ("Dealing," 143) likens this text to Plutarch's comparison of the requirements that sacrificial victims be free from blemish with the requirement that the Vestal Virgins be physically intact. Plutarch "speculates

their trade (getting a body or performing an execution). They must live outside of town and cannot bathe after the first hour of the night and cannot live beyond a tower in the grove of Libitina—which was apparently where some part of their trade was carried out.¹⁰ The workers, when in town, had to wear a colored cap.¹¹

The text directly relevant to crucifixion is as follows:

Column II. 8 *qui supplic(ium) de ser(vo) servave privatim sumer(e) volet uti is {qui} sumi volet ita supplic(ium) sumet si in cruc(em) / 9 patibul(...)¹² agere volet redempt(or) asser(es) vincul(a) restes verberatorib(us) et verberator(es) praeber(e) d(ebeto) et / 10 quisq(uis) supplic(ium) sumet pro oper(is) sing(ulis) quae patibul(um) ferunt verberatorib(us)q(ue) item carnifce HS IIII d(are) d(ebeto) /*

11 *quot(iens) supplic(ium) magistrat(us) public(e) sumet ita imperat(o)¹³ quotienscumq(ue) imperat(um) er(it) praestu esse su-/ 12 plicium sumer(e) cruceſ ſtatuere clavos pecem ceram candell(as) quaeq(ue) ad eas res opus erunt red(emptor) / 13 gratis praest(are) d(ebeto) item si unco extrahere iussus erit oper(is) russat(is) id cadaver ubi plura / 14 cadavera erunt cum tintinnabulo extrahere debebit.*^{VACAT}

II. 8 Whoever will want to exact punishment on a male slave or female slave at private expense, as he [the owner] who wants the [punishment] to be inflicted,¹⁴ he [the

that Roman practice forbade bodily imperfections in persons or things involved in sacred matters" (*Quaest. rom.* 73 = *Mor.* 281C).

¹⁰ II.3: *Oper(ae), quae ad eam r(em) praeparat(ae)er(unt), ne intra turrem ubi hodie lucus est Libit(inae)habitent laventurve ab h(ora) I / 4 noctis neve veniant in oppid(um)nisi mortui tollend(i) conlocand(i)ve aut supplic(i) sumend(i) c(ausa).* On the grove of Libitina as the place where the undertaker performed his duties see Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 53, 108-109 and on the tower see idem, 105-108. Bodel ("Graveyards," 73, 95 n. 61) interprets *intra turrem* to mean "beyond a certain landmark." He appeals to *ILS* § 2267, *area inter duos turres* and would supply something like *propius urbem, usque ad muros* (nearer the city, up to the walls) in II.3. *Intra* can mean "up to and including" as in Gellius, *Noct.* 12.13.25 (*intra montem Taurum* from Cicero, *Sest.* 58 which Gellius understands as *usque ad montem cum ipso monte*). This is, as Hinard/Dumont point out (*ibid.*, 105), a more abstract interpretation. They translate "within the tower."

¹¹ II.5 *pilleum color(ium) in capit(e) habea{n}t.*

¹² *patibul(um)* Bove, Moreau; *patibul(atum)* (patibulated—tied to a *patibulum*) Bodel. Cf. Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 18 *app. crit.* and Panciera, *Libitina*, 49 *app. crit.*

¹³ Panciera, *Libitina*, 49 *impera«bi»t.*

¹⁴ Cp. Ulpian's *On the Praetorian Edict* 50 in *Dig.* 29.5.1.30: *iniquum est... de omnibus qui in ea regione fuerint servis quaestionem haberi et supplicium sumi* (it is iniquitous to have all the slaves tortured and punishment inflicted [on them] who might be in the region [of a man found murdered]). [Quintilian], *Decl. min.* 380. proem has *supplicium sumere* used to refer to crucifixion of a slave.

contractor] exacts the punishment in this manner: if he wants [him] to bring¹⁵ the *patibulum* to the cross, the contractor will have to provide wooden posts, chains, and cords for the floggers and the floggers themselves. And anyone who will want to exact punishment will have to give four sesterces for each of the workers who bring the *patibulum* and for the floggers and also for the executioner.

11 Whenever a magistrate exacts punishment at public expense, so shall he decree; and whenever it will have been ordered to be ready to carry out the punishment, the contractor will have gratis to set up¹⁶ stakes (*cruces*), and will have gratis to provide nails, pitch, wax, candles, and those things which are essential for such matters. Also if he will be commanded to drag [the cadaver] out with a hook, he must drag the cadaver itself out, his workers dressed in red, with a bell ringing, to a place where many cadavers will be.

Carrying the *Patibulum*

"*Patibul(um) agere*" is ambiguous. It may refer to the victim carrying the horizontal piece of the cross, or it may refer to the workers as the expression (*quae patibul[um] ferunt*) in II.10 clearly does. What may be happening is this: the slave carries the *patibulum* while the workers drive him/her on. This vivid image of the situation emerges in a play of Plautus. One slave says to another, "O sieve of the executioners, which I believe you will be as the 'executioners' lead you, 'patibulated,' with their goads through the streets."¹⁷ On carrying a *patibulum* see Plautus, *Mil. glor.* 359: *Credo*

¹⁵ For the passive (be brought to the cross), cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 12.2: *liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acto* (a freedman, who cried out concerning the wickedness of the crime, was immediately taken to the cross). Cp. Cicero, *2 Verr.* 5.64.163: *In crucem tu agere ausus es* (you [Verres] dared to take someone to the cross). Cicero, *2 Verr.* 5.64.165 has a similar expression: *in crucem ageretur* (he was led to the cross). Cp. Calpurnius, *Decl.* 33 where a prostitute leads her slave off to the cross because he fell in love with her (*The Declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus: Text, Translation, and Commentary* [ed. and trans. L.A. Sussman; Mn.S 133; Leiden: Brill, 1994]) 72: *Meretrix servum suum amantem se in crucem agit*. In Calpurnius, *Decl.* 17 (50-52 Sussman) a *paedagogus* (slave) is led to the cross (*agitur paedagogus in crucem*), because his charge (a young man) is caught in adultery and killed. Both slaves defend themselves in court.

¹⁶ Cp. the verb in Josephus, *B.J.* 7.202—an account of Bassus ordering a cross to be "set up as though he meant to hang Eleazar immediately" (προσέταξε καταπηγνύναι σταυρὸν ὡς αὐτίκα κρεμῶν τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον). *Statuere* is also used in Suetonius, *Galb.* 9.1 for "setting up" a cross.

¹⁷ Plautus, *Most.* 55-56: *O carnuficium cribrum, quod credo fore, / ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias stimulis <carnufices>...* Cp. Clodius, *Hist. frag.* 3 (Teubner, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* II, 78,2-3 Peters): *Deligata ad patibulos. deligantur et circumferuntur, cruci*

ego istoc extemplo tibi esse eundum actutum extra portam, dispessis manibus, patibulum quom habebis (One slave says to another, “I believe that you will soon go out the gate in that direction led with hands spread out on the *patibulum* which you will have”). Note the combination in Plautus, albeit in the passive, of *agere* (lead/take) and *patibulum*. Sallust has this image: “In which circumstances each notorious eminent person paying the penalty for evil was either flogged or, with a body unmutilated [by flogging], was shamelessly nailed to the *patibulum*.”¹⁸ *Patibulum* can have the general sense *crux* (cross) as in a later glossary and many earlier texts.¹⁹

Torture: The Art of the Carnifex

The reference to candles and wax could be to funeral practices as in this text of Servius: “Moreover others tell of funerals consecrated by candles made of rope, enclosed in tallow or wax, because with these shining in front the dead are carried at night.”²⁰ People of greater age receive funeral

defiguntur (Tied to *patibula*. They are tied to *patibula* and led around, and nailed to the cross). In Apuleius, *Metam.* 4.10 a character nailed a thief’s hand with a strong blow to the post of a gate and left him crucified by that deadly bond (“patibulated”—an editorial emendation for the *patibulum* of the MSS): *grandique clavo manum ducis nostri repente nisu fortissimo ad ostii tabulam offigit et exitiabili nexu patibulatum relinquens*. Plautus, *Carbonaria* frag. 2 (OCT II, Lindsay): *patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde adfigatur cruci* (he carries the *patibulum* through the city, and then is nailed to the cross).

¹⁸ Sallust, *Hist.* 3, frag. 9 (Teubner, 113 Maurenbrecher): *In quis notissimus quisque aut malo dependens verberabatur aut immutilato corpore improbe patibulo eminens affigebatur*.

¹⁹ *Glossae Abavus* found in a MS from IX C.E. (G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Romanorum* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1889] 4.374,22 [cf. xix-xxi on the date]): *Patibulum crux* (*patibulum*, cross). For earlier usages cf. H.-W. Kuhn, “Die Kreuzesstrafe während der frühen Kaiserzeit: Ihre Wirklichkeit und Wertung in der Umwelt des Urchristentums,” *ANRW* II.25.1 (1982) 648-793, esp. 681.

²⁰ Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 11.143 (*Servii Grammaticii qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* [ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen; Leipzig: Teubner, 1884], II, 493,18-20): *funera autem alii a funalibus candelis, sebo vel cera circumdatis, dicta <tradunt>, quod his praelucen- tibus noctu efferrentur mortui*. Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 16.178: [*scirpi*] *detracto cortice candelae luminibus et funeribus serviunt* (They [rushes] with the outer coat [bark] taken off, serve for the illumination of candles and for funeral torches). J. Bodel summarizes funeral practices in “Death, the Afterlife, and Other Last Things. Rome,” *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (ed. S.I. Johnson; Cambridge/London: Harvard University, 2004) 489-492 and “Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals,” *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (ed. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon; Studies in the History of Art 56; New Haven/London, National Gallery of Art, 1999) 259-281.

processions with trumpet and candles.²¹ The larger context, however, shows that it almost certainly refers to torture.²² The *vincula* / “fettters” of II.9²³ could refer to iron chains as is clear from Calpurnius, *Decl.* 4 (a fictional declamation of apologetic rhetoric where a young man demands state prison [*carcer publicum*] instead of house confinement, but nevertheless a fascinating description of prison life). Chains, e.g., press the prisoner’s hand (*manum catenae premunt* [30 Sussman]). Cp. Ps 149:8 Vulg. *ut alligent reges eorum catenis et inclitos eorum compedibus ferreis* (... so that they [the Israelites] might bind their [the pagans’] kings in chains and their renowned ones in iron fetters). In Plautus, *Capt.* 729-30 a hapless slave is to be chained up by night in a prison and to work in the quarries during the day. The slave was ordered to be taken to a smith, Hippolytus, who makes thick shackles forged of iron and attached them to the slave (*abducite istum actutum ad Hippolytum fabrum, / iubete huic crassas compedis impingier*).²⁴

A vivid image of flogging appears in Cicero’s indictment of the ex-governor of Sicily, Verres, for flogging (and crucifying) a Roman citizen. Gavius of Consa, a citizen and merchant, had been imprisoned in Verres’ stone quarries. On escaping he reviled Verres in Messina, not realizing the danger he was in. “Suddenly he [Verres] ordered him to be snatched (from custody) into the middle of the forum, to be stripped and bound, and that rods be prepared.”²⁵ “He ordered him to be flogged vehemently all over his body. A Roman citizen was beaten with rods in the middle of the forum of Messina, members of the jury.” In the midst of the cracking of the blows the only sound heard was “I am a Roman citizen.”²⁶ The *lex Julia de vi publica* (the Julian law on public violence) protected Roman citizens from torture (before conviction and appeal). Verres had falsely condemned Gavius as a spy.²⁷ Another image from the next

²¹ Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 5.138 (I, 610,14-16 Thilo/Hagen): *sed sciendum maioris aetatis funera ad tubam solere proferri. Persius “hinc tuba, candelae.”*

²² Aubert, “Double Standard,” 114; Pölonen, “Plebeians,” 223; Bodel, “Organization,” 156. Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.6.14 is quoted below in the section on **Slaves**.

²³ Cf. *OLD* s.v. § 1.

²⁴ Plautus, *Capt.* 733-734. See also J.G. Cook “Bond (NT),” *ABD* I (1992) 773.

²⁵ Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.62.160-161: *...cum repente hominem proripi atque in foro medio nudari ac deligari et virgas expediti iubet.*

²⁶ Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.62.161-162: *deinde iubet undique hominem vehementissime verberari. Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, iudices, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur nisi haec, “Civis Romanus sum.”*

²⁷ Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.62.161. Pölonen, “Plebeians,” passim discusses the *lex Julia*. Cf. in particular Ulpian, *Officio procons.* 8 in *Dig.* 48.6.7 and Paulus, *Sent.* 5.26.1.

century (ca. 62-64, Albinus' procuratorship) appears in Josephus' account of one of the prophets of the temple's doom who is "lacerated with scourges" before the governor until his bones show.²⁸

In addition to the scourging, Gavius was subjected to fire and burning metal plates and similar tortures (*ignes ardentisque laminae ceterique cruciatu*).²⁹ One of Plautus' plays describes the use of pitch by the torturer: "And by Pollux, if this old gentleman should be wise, black pitch would disturb you at the torturer's place and would shine on your head."³⁰ Juvenal may be referring to the "burning shirt" of the Romans with this comment: "Just write about Tigellinus and you will blaze amid those pine torches in which men stand and burn and smoke with their throats pierced, and you will trace a broad furrow through the middle of the arena."³¹ The scholiast remarks: "Nero clothed some evil people [Christians?] with pine resin and papyrus and wax and commanded that fire be brought so that they would burn."³² In his remark on Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.235 (*tunica molesta*), he writes: "Clothing made from papyrus smeared with pitch, in which those who were sentenced to fire in punishment used to blaze."³³ Lucretius describes pitch as one of the punishments for evil deeds in a long list of atonements for crime: the cell and the horrible throwing down from the rock, floggings, torturers, the condemned cell,³⁴ pitch, [burning] plates, and torches.³⁵

²⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* 6.304: μάλιστα μέχρι ὀστέων ξαννόμενος. I thank Sr. Dr. Margareta Grüber, OSF for this reference.

²⁹ Cicero, *2 Verr.* 5.63.163 (he thought his citizenship would protect him from the flogging and torture in 5.62.162). Cicero appeals to the *lex Porcia* against such treatment of citizens (5.63.163). See also Cicero, *Rab. Perd.* 4.10 for an allusion to the law.

³⁰ Plautus, *Capt.* 596-597: *At pol te, si hic sapiat senex, / pix atra agitet apud carnificem tuoque capiti inluceat.*

³¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* 1.155-157: *pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa / qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant, / et latum media sulcum deducis harena.*

³² Schol. in *Iuv.* 1.155 (16,14-16 Wessner): *Nero maleficos homines taeda et papyro et cera supervestiebat et sic ignem admoveri iubebat, ut arderent.*

³³ Schol. in *Iuv.* 8.235 (150,16-17 Wessner): *vestis ex c<h>arta facta pice inlita, in qua ignibus <in> poenam addicti ardere solent.* Cp. Seneca, *Ep.* 14.5: *tunica alimentis ignium et inlita et texta* (tunics smeared and covered with fuel for fire).

³⁴ On the underground execution cell in Rome, the *robur Tullianum*, see Calpurnius, *Decl.* 4 (30 Sussman) for those cast into a prison who look forward to the execution cell (*in hunc rei abiecti robur Tullianumque* [a hendiadys] *prospiciunt*) (and *OLD* s.v. *Tullianus*). The *robur* (oak) (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2c) may have been an oak post to which prisoners were chained. *Tullianum* could, according to Sussman (106), refer to any prison by extension as in Apuleius, *Metam.* 9.10.

³⁵ Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 3.1016-1017: *carcer et horribilis de saxo iactus deorsum, / verbera carnifices robur pix lammina tae dae.*

Scourging and other tortures, whatever the body could stand, preceded crucifixion, the final punishment that was lying in wait, according to Philo and Josephus.³⁶ In Livy, *Ab urbe cond.* 33.36.3, the praetor Glabrio crucified the leaders of a slave revolt after scourging them (*alios verberatos crucibus adfixit qui principes coniurationis fuerant*). Whips could be fortified with bone parts or lead.³⁷ The Christian rulers did not stop their use as in this text from the *Theodosian Code*:

On the other hand, from beatings with leaden scourges which We do not approve when inflicted upon the bodies of freeborn persons, We do not exempt all the afore-said order [decurions], but We relieve only the decemprimi decurions of the order from the cruelty of such blows, and in the case of the rest, moderation in the use of this punishment shall be exercised by the judge.³⁸

Scourging could lead to death, and with bone or lead-studded whips it would not be surprising.³⁹

Nails

The nails are probably for crucifixion.⁴⁰ A fragment of bones transfixed by a nail has survived from the ancient world.⁴¹ They could serve in magical

³⁶ Philo, *Flacc.* 72: ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς ἦν. Josephus, *B.J.* 2.306, 308 (where Florus crucifies some Jews in Jerusalem who are Roman citizens of equestrian rank); 7.200-202 (the Roman general Bassus captures a Jewish youth, scourges him, and sets up a cross, although the youth is ransomed).

³⁷ Curtius, *Hist.* 6.11.17 (Teubner, 145 Vogel): *intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat* (a body swollen with sores could not bear the blows, intertwined with bare bones, of whips); Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.30 (*flagro illo pecuinis ossibus catenato verberantes paene ad extremam confecerant mortem* beating [the ass] with a whip interlocked with cattle bones, they almost had brought [him] to the edge of death).

³⁸ *Codex. theod.* 9.35.2.1 (Sept. 17, 376 at Trier by Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian to the Praetorian prefect of Gaul): *Plumbatarum vero ictus, quos in ingenuis corporibus non probamus, non ab omni ordini submovemus sed decemprimos tantum ordinis curiales ab immanitate huiusmodi verberum segregamus, ita ut in ceteris animadversionis istius habeatur moderatio commonentis*. ET of C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography in Collaboration with Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr* (New York: Greenwood, 1952) 251.

³⁹ Servilius is beaten to death in Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.54.140-142.

⁴⁰ Nails could, of course, merely serve in the construction of a cross as in Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon* 2.53 (Teubner, 183,7 Pack). See also Bodel, "Organization," 146.

⁴¹ See the photograph in Figure 1, copyright Zev Radovan and used by permission



Figure 1. Nail used in crucifixion.

practices. A witch uses nails covered with the flesh of hanged (crucified) men (*carnosi clavi pendentium*) in her magic recipes in a text of Apuleius.⁴² Pliny describes certain practices of the magicians: “The same [magicians] against Quartan fevers bind a fragment of a nail from a cross, enclosed with a piece of wool, to the neck; or they use a rope from a cross; after he is released [from the bond], they place it in a cavern where the sun does not reach).”⁴³ Seneca uses “crosses” as a metaphor for “sins” in this text:

(www.BibleLandPictures.com). The skeletal remains were found in an ossuary of I C.E. in Givat HaMivtar northeast of Jerusalem (Y. Yadin, “Epigraphy and Crucifixion,” *IEJ* 23 [1973] 18-22, esp. 20-2). Two calcinean bones are pierced by an iron nail (Yadin believes that Yehoḥanan was crucified upside down).

⁴² Apuleius, *Metam.* 3.17.

⁴³ Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 28.46: *iidem in quartanis fragmentum clavi a cruce involutum lana collo subnectunt aut spartum e cruce, liberatoque condunt caverna, quam sol non attingat.*

When they attempted to release themselves from the crosses, to which each one of you had himself driven his own nails, having been taken to punishment they hang from individual stakes: these who bring punishment on themselves are stretched out by as many crosses as they have desires... I would believe that this [action] was free [the critics' cursing of philosophers], if some did not spit on spectators from their own *patibulum*.⁴⁴

Porphry quite clearly indicates that some pagans thought nails were used in the crucifixion of Christ in an oracle from Apollo. The god describes a Christian wife whose husband vainly wants to recall (*revocare*) her to Hellenism. Let her lament, Apollo says, "...for a god dead in his illusions, who was destroyed by right-minded judges, and in specious circumstances the worst death—bound with iron—killed him."⁴⁵ Lactantius preserves an oracle of the Milesian Apollo (not necessarily from Porphyry) which describes Christ's nature: "he was mortal according to the flesh, a wise man with marvelous works, but he was seized by the Chaldean [Hebrew] judges and being fastened with spikes he accomplished a bitter death."⁴⁶

The Citizen's Body and the Cross

The magistrate of the *lex Puteoli* could crucify individuals, but certainly not citizens. The inscription of the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*

⁴⁴ Seneca, *Dial. (Vit. beat.)* 7.19.3: *Cum refigere se crucibus conentur, in quas unusquisque uestrum clauos suos ipse adigit* [MSS have *adicit*], *ad supplicium tamen acti stipitibus singulis pendunt: hi qui in se ipsi animum aduertunt quot cupiditatibus tot crucibus distrahantur... Crederem illis hoc vacare, nisi quidam ex patibulo suo spectatores conspuerent!*

⁴⁵ Augustine, *Civ.* 19.23 = Porphyry, *De phil. ex orac. haur.* 343 F (*Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta* [ed. A. Smith; Teubner; Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1993] 392,14-393,1): *lamentari fallaciis mortuum deum cantans, quem iudicibus recta sententibus perditum pessima in speciosis ferro vincta mors interfecit*. Cf. J.G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (STAC 3; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 2000) 107-108, 113-114.

⁴⁶ Lactantius, *Inst.* 4.13.11 = Smith, *Porphyrii*, 343 F *app. crit.*: *Propterea Milesius Apollo consultus, utrumne (i.e. Christus) deus an homo fuerit, hoc modo respondit* (in dactylic hexameter): *Θνητὸς ἦν κατὰ σάρκα, σοφὸς τερατώδεσιν ἔργοις / ἄλλ' ὑπὸ Χαλδαίοισι δικασπολίαισιν ἁλώσας [ἁλωκῶς conj. Wolff] / γομφῶθεις σκολόπεσσι πικρὴν ἀνέπλησε τελευτήν*. J. Lipsius, *De Cruce...* (Wesel: Hoogenhuysen, 1675) 87 made use of Lactantius' text, but neither H. Fulda (*Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung: Eine antiquarische Untersuchung nebst Nachweis der vielen seit Lipsius verbreiteten Irrthümer. Zugleich vier Excursus über verwandte Gegenstände* [Breslau: Koebner, 1878]); M. Hengel (*The Cross of the Son of God* [trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1981]); nor Kuhn ("Die Kreuzesstrafe") used it in their investigations (based on their indices).

(SCPP) concerning the trial in 20 C.E. (and suicide) of Piso mentions as one of the charges that the infamous Piso had “nailed to a cross,” without trials, non-citizen soldiers and a centurion who was a Roman citizen.⁴⁷

Column II. (Copy A) 49 *perspecta etiam* / 50 *crudelitate unica qui incognita causa sine consili sententia plurimos ca* / 51 *pitis supplicio adfecisset neq(ue) externos tantummodo sed etiam centurionem* / 52 *c(ivem) R(omanum) cruci fixisset;*

Also evidenced was the unexampled cruelty [of a man] who had inflicted capital punishment on many without their cases having been heard, without the recommendation of his advisors, and crucified not only non-citizen [soldiers] but even a centurion, a Roman citizen;⁴⁸

Seneca may describe Piso's execution of the centurion, but the method of execution is ambiguous. Jean-Jacques Aubert thinks it may be beheading, but admits that Seneca does not actually specify the method of execution.⁴⁹ If it was a more aggravated punishment, however, one wonders why Seneca did not mention it as an example of an effect of anger. For different behavior of a governor who did consult his council one remembers the portrayal of Festus in Acts 25:12. Another council, much worse, may be found in Tacitus' depiction of Tigellinus, who (with Poppaea) was part of Nero's private council in his savagery (*saevienti principi intimum consiliorum*).⁵⁰ Piso did not even make use of such a private council. The senate seems as

⁴⁷ I have used the following edition: D.S. Potter, ed. and C. Damon, trans., “The *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*,” *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999) 13-41 (with 8 plates). Cf. also C. Damon and S. Takács, “Introduction,” *Ibid.* 1-12. On the crucifixion of citizens see Hengel, *Cross*, 130-137; Kuhn, *Kreuzesstrafe*, 736-740. M. Hengel discusses the Piso inscription in M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien* (WUNT 108; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1998) 350-351 (on II.54-57: *Pisoniani* and *Caesariani* in Antioch compared with *Christianoi*). Kuhn apparently was unaware of it.

⁴⁸ Text and ET (slightly modified) of Potter and Damon, “*Senatus Consultum*,” 20-23.

⁴⁹ Seneca, *Dial. (Ira)* 3.1.18.5: *nam ipsum centurionem qui damnatum reduxerat duci iussit* (for the same centurion who had brought back the condemned man, he condemned to be executed). Cf. Aubert, “Double Standard,” 117. The incident is described in *Dial. (Ira)* 3.1.18.3-6. Piso had originally condemned a soldier to beheading who had returned from leave without his companion (he thought the soldier had murdered his companion). When the other soldier returned the centurion in charge of the execution returned the condemned man to Piso who then had all three executed.

⁵⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.61.2.

scandalized by the punishment of a citizen as Cicero was earlier. In his defense of Rabirius against the charge of treason, Cicero argues that crucifixion is not something that should even be heard of by the ears of the Roman citizen for whom even such calamities as exile and the deprivation of property leave a vestige of freedom.

Even if death is held out [as a threat], we may die in freedom. For in truth the executioner and the veiling of the head and the very name of "the cross" should be absent not only from the body of Roman citizens but even from thought, eyes, and ears. For of all these things not only the occurrence and endurance but even the [legal] possibility, expectation, and finally the mention itself is unworthy of a Roman citizen and a free person. Can truly the kindness of owners, by one assertion of freedom, not liberate our slaves from the fear of all those punishments; can neither our actions, nor the life we have lived, nor your honors [conferred on us] not free us from floggings, from the hook, and finally from the terror of the cross?⁵¹

This was only dependent on the governor's willingness to follow legal tradition. Verres, as is well known, crucified Roman citizens. Gavius, while being taken to the cross, cried out, "I am a Roman citizen." Cicero has witnesses who saw the event: "...when he, who cried out that he was a Roman citizen, was led to the cross. This you Verres also say, this you confess, that he cried out that he was a Roman citizen; with you the name of citizenship counted not even enough for any doubt [concerning the cross], to be able to bring about as much as a small delay of that most cruel and horrible punishment."⁵² Galba, on the other hand, while governor of

⁵¹ Cicero, *Rab. Perd.* 5.16: *Mors denique si proponitur, in libertate moriamur, carnifex vero et obductio capitis et nomen ipsum crucis absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Harum enim omnium rerum non solum eventus atque perpersio sed etiam condicio, expectatio, mentio ipsa denique indigna cive Romano atque homine libero est. An vero servos nostros horum suppliciorum omnium metu dominorum benignitas vindicta una liberat; nos a verberibus, ab unco, a crucis denique terrore neque res gestae neque acta aetas neque vestri honores vindicabunt?* Verres (substituting them for the pirates) veiled Roman citizens before sending them to the stake (*palum*) to keep them from being recognized in Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.28.72: *capitibus obvolutis e carcere ad palum atque ad necem rapiabantur*. The hapless Gavius had never seen a cross until he saw the one prepared for him by Verres' order (Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.62.162): *crux, crux, inquam, infelici et aerumnoso, qui numquam istam pestem viderat, comparabatur*.

⁵² Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.64.165: *cum is, qui se civem Romanum esse clamaret, in crucem ageretur. Hoc tu, Verres, idem dicis, hoc tu confiteris, illum clamitasse se civem esse Romanum; apud te nomen civitatis ne tantum quidem valuisse ut dubitationem aliquam [crucis], ut crudelissimi*

Africa, crucified a guardian guilty of poisoning his ward in order to receive the child's inheritance to which he was legally entitled in case of death. When the guardian appealed to the laws and his Roman citizenship, Galba pretended to mitigate the sentence and ordered that his cross be higher than the others and that it be whitewashed.⁵³ Tarquin the Superb crucified the bodies of some Plebeian citizens who had committed suicide.⁵⁴

Slaves

Crucifixion was appropriate for slaves, as the *lex Puteoli* shows.⁵⁵ Again Cicero is a good witness for this tradition. He is scandalized by Verres' behavior. The governor had convicted slaves of rebellion in Sicily and sentenced them. After sentencing the slaves to the death (i.e. crucifixion) prescribed by the tradition of the ancestors, he released them so that he could keep the cross for Roman citizens.⁵⁶ He squelched the slave rebellion by

taeterrimique supplicii aliquam parvam moram saltem posset adferre. Cp. 1.3.7 where Verres beheads some Roman citizens, kills some by leaving them in bonds, and crucified others who appeal to their legal rights as free people and as Roman citizens (*...poenae civium Romanorum, quos partim securi percussit, partim in vinculis necavit, partim implorantis iura libertatis et civitatis in crucem sustulit*).

⁵³ Suetonius, *Galb.* 9.1. *tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, ueneno necasset, cruce adfecit; implorantique leges et civem Romanum se testificantem, quasi solacio et honore aliquo poenam levaturus, mutari multoque praeter ceteras altiore et dealbatam statui crucem iussit.* Note the use of *statuere* for setting up crosses as in the *lex Puteoli*.

⁵⁴ Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 36.107; Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 12.603 (II, 626, 22-26 Thilo/Hagen).

⁵⁵ On the legal situation (a master's right of life and death over a slave) see Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 89-90 with reference to texts such as Gaius, *Inst.* 1.52 in *Dig.* 1.6.1.1. On the crucifixion of slaves see: Hengel, *Cross*, 143-155; Kuhn, "Kreuzesstrafe," 719-722. The Spartacus revolt is a famous example. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.14.120: 6000 of the vanquished slaves were crucified on the road from Capua to Rome by Crassus (ἐξακτισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὄλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν). On the problems of the Spartacus revolt see J.C. Dumont, *Servus: Rome et l'esclavage sous la république* (Collection de l'école française de Rome 103; Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987) 271-297. [Quintilian], *Decl. min.* 380.1 describes a cross "written" in a will for a slave who would not give his master poison—with the appropriate *titulus* (placard) describing the crime's punishment (380.2). The slave apparently was successful in his appeal to the tribunes.

⁵⁶ Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5.6.12: *hos [slaves] ad supplicium iam more maiorum traditos ex media morte eripere ac liberare ausus es, ut, quam damnatis crucem servis fixeras, hanc indemnatis videlicet civibus Romanis reserves?*

executing a few of them with a painful death.⁵⁷ "What then follows? Floggings and burnings and those extreme steps in the punishment of the condemned, bringing fear to the others, torture and cross. They were freed from all these punishments."⁵⁸ Jean-Christian Dumont finds only one case in comedy in which a master actually sends a slave to his death.⁵⁹ Cicero tells the tale of a woman, who failing to force a falsehood by torture from a slave, later has him crucified.⁶⁰ In one comedy a master is convinced not to beat his slave (the "dirt") to death as he hangs.⁶¹ The slave had deserved crucifixion in master's eyes.⁶² Although it is fiction, Plautus has a clear picture of a master who, although not crucifying his slave, kills him slowly through excruciating pain. The slave laments the miserable whips that are to die on his back.⁶³ He asks shackles why they do not run and clasp his legs so that he can protect them.⁶⁴ This is a punishment he expects before he even knew. Then rawhide whips are brought.⁶⁵ Handcuffs are placed on the "one who deserves a whipping."⁶⁶ He is threatened, "When I will have tortured you with the worst exemplary punishments, and for your cunning

⁵⁷ Cicero, 2 Verr. 5.6.14: *exortam videtur flammam paucorum dolore ac morte restinxisse.*

⁵⁸ Cicero, 2 Verr. 5.6.14: *Quid deinde sequitur? Verbera atque ignes et illa extrema ad supplicium damnatorum, metum ceterorum, cruciatus et crux. Hisce omnibus suppliciis sunt liberati.*

⁵⁹ J.-C. Dumont, "Le mort de l'esclave," *Le mort les morts et l'au-delà* (Actes du colloque de Caen 20-22 novembre 1985; ed. F. Hinard; Caen: Université de Caen, 1987) 167-186, esp. 177. Dumont, *Servus*, 126-129, 326-329.

⁶⁰ The actual legal situation is reflected in Cicero, *Clu.* 176-187 where Sassia, mother of Cluentius, buys a slave (Strato, a doctor) and has him tortured mercilessly to obtain evidence against her son. She (*Clu.* 176), without success, examines him and another slave woman (Ascla) under every kind of severe torture (*Tormentis omnibus vehementissime quaeritur*). When even the torturer was tired (*Clu.* 177), one of the witnesses asserts that the point of the activity was to force a false confession from them (*ut aliquid falsi dicere cogerentur*). Later Strato breaks into Sassia's strong box and steals gold (*Clu.* 179), and she has him crucified after having his tongue cut out (*Clu.* 187: *in crucem esse actum exsecta scitote lingua*) to avoid being condemned by the dying last utterance of the little slave (*ne condemnaretur extrema servuli voce morientis*).

⁶¹ Plautus, *Most.* 1167: *verberibus, lutum, caedere pendens.*

⁶² Plautus, *Most.* 1133: *ego ferare faxo, ut meruisti, in crucem.* "I will have you taken, as you deserved, to a cross."

⁶³ Plautus, *Capt.* 650: *Vae illis virgis miseris, quae hodie in tergo morientur meo.*

⁶⁴ Plautus, *Capt.* 651-652: *Quid cessatis, compedes, / currere ad me meaque amplecti crura, ut vos custodiam?*

⁶⁵ Plautus, *Capt.* 658: *ecferre lora.*

⁶⁶ Plautus, *Capt.* 659: *inicie huic manicas mastigiaae.*

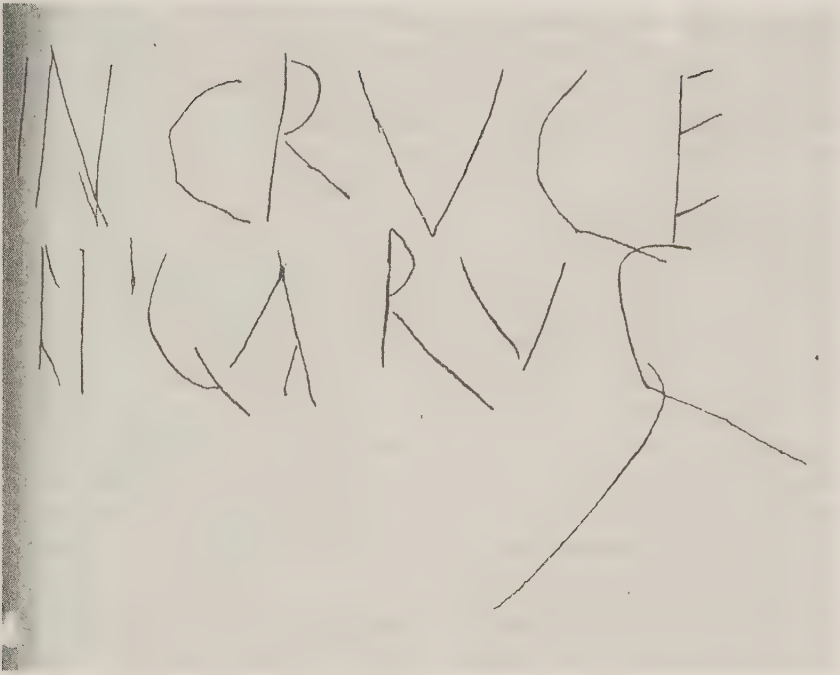


Figure 2. Crucifixion as obscenity.

stratagems have sent you to death....”⁶⁷ “Get crucified” was probably equivalent to the English “go to hell.”⁶⁸ Was it a common curse?

The scholiast to Juvenal describes an unusual crucifixion: a slave named Vindicus informed on the sons of Brutus (509 B.C.E.) for “wanting to open the gates to Tarquin.”⁶⁹ He brought his sons to the executioner’s axe, manumitted his slave as a preserver of the country, and as an informer

⁶⁷ Plautus, *Capt.* 691: *quando ego te exemplis excruciaro pessumis / atque ob sutelas tuas te morti misero*. The death will be slow (731: I will torment [him] for a long time, I will not free [him] in one day. *diu ego hunc cruciabo, non uno absolvam die*).

⁶⁸ A graffito in the Stabian baths of Pompei (*CIL* IV, § 2082 and Table VI § 3) has *in cruce figarus*—get nailed to a cross. An image of it is depicted in figure two (used by permission of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften). Cp. *CIL* IV, § 1864 *Samius Cornelio suspendere* (Samius to Cornelius, get hung). *suspendere* in Seneca, *Dial.* (Marc.) 6.20.3 is used in a reference to crucifixion. In Plautus, *Ps.* 335 a pimp says to a slave *ī in malam crucem* (go to an evil cross = “go to hell”).

⁶⁹ *Schol. in Iuv.* 8.266 (Teubner, 152,30-153,1 Wessner).

against his masters, he had him crucified (*Vindicius servus, qui indicavit filios Bruti Tarquinio portas velle reserare. quos pater securi feriit, servum autem ut conservatorem patriae manu misit et ut delatorem dominorum cruci adfixit*). At least the matrons (*matronae*) mourned over the deed.⁷⁰

Crucified Women

In Petronius' novel a virtuous matron of Ephesus buries her husband, who had died naturally. A soldier was guarding crosses (of crucified robbers *latrones*), lest anyone take the body for burial (*miles, qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret*). The soldier persuades her to take food and then seduces her. While on his errand the parents of one of the crucified men, "seeing that the watch was ill-kept, took their man down in the dark and administered the last rite to him. The soldier was eluded while he was off duty, and next day, seeing one of the crosses without its corpse, he was in terror of punishment. . . ."⁷¹ Rather than lose her lover the matron ordered that her husband's corpse be nailed to the cross (*cruci affigi*).⁷² A character, hearing the tale, says the woman should have been nailed to the cross (*mulierem affigere cruci*).⁷³ Phaedrus has the same story in a much shortened form with some variations (e.g. the crucified men had robbed Jove's temple; no mention of who took the body from the cross).⁷⁴ Josephus recounts a story of a freedwoman who was crucified for helping in the seduction of a Roman matron that Aubert notes is "realistic but probably invented." Tiberius also crucified the priests of Isis (possibly slaves) who aided in the seduction.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Schol. in Iuv.* 8.266 (153,1 Wessner). On the crucifixion of freedmen see Aubert, "Double Standard," 115.

⁷¹ Petronius, *Satyr.* 112.5–6: *Itaque unius cruciarii parentes ut viderunt laxatam custodiam, detraxere nocte pendentem supremoque mandaverunt officio. At miles circumscriptus dum desidet, ut postero die vidit unam sine cadavere crucem, veritus supplicium. . . .*

⁷² Petronius, *Satyr.* 112.8. ET of Petronius (ed. and trans. M. Heseltine; LCL; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University, 1969) 275.

⁷³ Petronius, *Satyr.* 113.2.

⁷⁴ Phaedrus, *Fab. frag.* 15 (*Babrius and Phaedrus* [ed. and trans. B. E. Perry; LCL; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University, 1965] 392–394).

⁷⁵ Josephus, *A.J.* 18.65–80 with the crucifixion by Tiberius in 18.79. Aubert, "A Double Standard," 115.

Sacred Space

The executioner was to be kept away from the city according to Cicero and the *lex Puteoli*: “whom [the executioner] the laws of the censors intended to be absent not only from the forum, but even from the sky, the air, and also domicile in the city.”⁷⁶ Concerning crucifixions on the Campus Martius, Cicero comments: “You [Labienus] who think that is correct that the executioner and bonds should be exhibited against Roman citizens even in their assembly; who in the Campus Martius at the Assembly of the Centuries decide that a cross be fixed and set up in that hallowed place.”⁷⁷

Who Gets the Body?

Although the *lex Puteoli* does not turn the body of the crucified individuals over to the family it does apparently provide for some kind of burial. Aubert refers to a text of Ulpian (from his treatise on the duties of proconsuls):

The corpses of those who were sentenced to die are not to be withheld from their relatives: the divine Augustus writes in the tenth book of his autobiography that even he had observed this rule. Today, however, the corpses of executed people are buried as if permission had been asked for and granted, with some exceptions, especially when the charge was high treason (*maiestas*). Even the bodies of those condemned to be burned at the stake can be claimed, obviously that that bones and ashes can be collected and buried.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Cicero, *Rab. Perd.* 5.15: *quem non modo foro sed etiam caelo hoc ac spiritu censoriae leges atque urbis domicilio carere voluerunt.*

⁷⁷ Cicero, *Rab. Perd.* 4.11: *tunc qui civibus Romanis in contione ipsa carnificem, qui vincla adhiberi putas oportere, qui in campo Martio comitiis centuriatis auspicio in loco crucem ad civium supplicium defigi et constitui iubes...* For the place see L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University, 1992) 65-67. Cicero, *Ibid.* 4.10 indicates it is the usual place of crucifixion.

⁷⁸ ET of Aubert, “Corpse Disposal,” 145. Cf. Ulpian, *Officio proconsul.* 9 in *Dig.* 48.24.1: *Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: et id se observasse etiam divus Augustus libro decimo de vita sua scribit. Hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petitum et permissum, et nonnumquam non permittitur, maxime maiestatis causa damnatorum. Eorum quoque corpora, qui exurendi damnantur, peti possunt, scilicet ut ossa et cineres collecta sepulturae tradi possint.* Aubert notes that the practice in Puteoli may be similar to the occasional practice in Rome of casting bodies into mass graves (or the Tiber) with reference to V.M. Hope, “Contempt and Respect: The Treatment of the Corpse in Ancient Rome,” Hope/Marshall, *Death*, 104-127, esp. 112-115. Cf. also D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London/New York: Routledge,

Valerie M. Hope has noted that the abuse of corpses was occasionally part of the “spectacle of death” in Rome. The Gemonian Stairs (*Scalae Gemoniae*) were within view of the Forum.⁷⁹ According to Suetonius, “None of those punished [by Tiberius] was *not* cast down the Gemonian stairs and dragged with a hook [to the river], and in one day twenty were thrown down and dragged—among whom were women and children.”⁸⁰ The *lex Puteoli*, however, even provides that bell ringing accompany the “funeral procession.” But the object seems to be to cast the corpse (unburied?) into some kind of potter’s field. John Bodel quotes a text from Varro in which Roman towns kept such places for the indigent where people were buried in pits:

*Extra oppida a puteis puticuli, quod ibi in puteis obruebantur homines, nisi potius, ut Aelius scribit, puticuli quod putescabant ibi cadavera proiecta, qui locus publicus ultra Esquilias. Itaque eum Afranius putilucos in Togata appellat, quod inde suspiciunt per puteos lumen.*⁸¹

Outside towns, [there were] *puticuli* “little pits” [named] from pits, because there people were buried, unless rather, as Aelius wrote, [they were named] “little pits” because cadavers thrown there rotted, for which there was a public place beyond the Esquiline hill. Accordingly Afranius, in a comedy, calls this “light pits,”⁸² because from there they look up through the pits at light.

The “public place” is for such usages. Agennius Urbicus describes them this way: “Public entities have suburban places designated for the funerals of the poor—which they call ‘places for funeral burnt offerings.’ They also have places designated for the punishment of convicted criminals.”⁸³ Of

1988) 164-171, 224, 227, 271 on the disposal of corpses from the arena in the Tiber (and not in pits or crematoria)—a thesis that can be questioned. In Paulus, *Sent.* 1.21.16 (= *Dig.* 48.24.3) anyone can request and bury the bodies of the executed.

⁷⁹ Hope, “Contempt,” 112-113 with reference to Valerius Maximus 6.9.13 and Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 345. The *OLD* s.v. *Gemoniae* notes that the stairs were on the Aventine and that criminals’ bodies were dragged down them to the Tiber.

⁸⁰ Suetonius, *Tib.* 61.4: *Nemo punitorum non in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, viginti uno die abiecti tractique, inter eos feminae et pueri.* Cp. Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.9.2 for Sejanus’ boy and girl executed and thrown down the stairs.

⁸¹ Varro, *L.* 5.25. Bodel, “Graveyards,” 81, 107. On the “public place” see: *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸² A macabre joke from the comic poet.

⁸³ Agennius Urbicus, *De controversiis agrorum* (*Corpus agrimensorum romanorum* [ed. C. Thulin; Teubner; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1971] 47,1-2): *habent et res p(ublicae) loca suburbana inopum funeribus destinata quae loca culinas appellant. Habent et loca noxiorum poenis*

course, the birds of prey may have had their fill of the carcass before the hook was brought in.⁸⁴

The Macabre Procession

The bells used by the undertakers/executioners may help prevent ritual pollution.⁸⁵ Plautus describes the executioners who worked outside the Esquiline gate as “bell-ringing men.”⁸⁶ On the other hand, they may have drawn people to the scene of the spectacle of death. Bodel notes that the bells probably attracted more people to the scene than scared away.⁸⁷ Red clothing for such gritty work is eminently sensible. Bodies bloodied by torture and crucifixion could not help but leave blood on the workers, despite their best efforts with the drag hook. “Reddened garments” appear in the longer text of Servius, where he quotes Suetonius, who had noted: There are three kinds of *trabeae* (purple or partly purple garments): “One is sacred to the gods made wholly of purple, one is of purple but also has

destinata. Cp. [Quintilian], *Decl. min.* 274.13 where much used roads are used whenever criminals are crucified—for deterrent purposes (*Quotiens noxios cruci figimus, celeberrimae eliguntur viae, ubi plurimi intueri, plurimi commoveri hoc metu possint*).

⁸⁴ Horace, *Ep.* 1.16.48: *non pasces in cruce corvos* (you will not feed the ravens on the cross). Cp. Petronius, *Satyr.* 58.2, where the boy lover Giton is reviled as *crucis offla, corvorum cibaria* (cross meat, raven’s food). Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.77-78: *vultur iumento canibus crucibusque relictis / ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris adfert* (the vulture hurries to its young from beasts of burden, dogs, and abandoned crosses and brings some of the cadaver). *Schol. in Iuv.* 14.78: (*Partemque*) *cadaveris adfert: hominum, nam antiqui crucibus figebant* (214,114-115 Wessner); “(and some) of the cadaver brings—of men, for the ancients nailed them to crosses.” Cf. also Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 36.107.

⁸⁵ Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 122.

⁸⁶ Plautus, *Truc.* 782 (to a female slave): *nisi si ad tintinnaculos voltis vos educi viros* (unless you want to be led off to the bell-ringing executioners). Plautus, *Ps.* 332 (a slave to a pimp): *Lanios inde accersam duo cum tintinnabulis, / eadem duo greges virgarum inde ulmearum adegero...* (from there [beyond the Esquiline gate] I will fetch two butchers with bells; at the same time I will bring from there two flocks of elm rods). The pimp responds (335) *I in malam crucem* (go to an evil cross). Cf. Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 122 and Bodel, “Dealing,” 146-47. Bodel, “Dealing,” 38-54 discusses archaeological and inscriptional evidence with regard to the Esquiline site.

⁸⁷ Bodel, “Dealing,” 147 referring to texts such as Cass. Dio, *Hist.* 58.11.5 (Sejanus’ body abused on the Stairs by the crowds for three days). Suetonius, *Aug.* 91.2 notes that Augustus places bells at the door of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter and that commonly they were at the doors of houses (i.e. not warning signs in this case).

some white, and the 'augural' one is of purple and red. 'Quirinal' is then 'regal'.⁸⁸ The longer version of Servius, however, has in the margin of one manuscript a much different depiction of the garments:

In contrast to what Servius said, indeed some say there are three kinds of purple garments: the royal, the Quirinal, and the "trosula." The royal is made completely of purple which may be used only by kings or by youth of royal family. The quirinal is easier to use and better for battles... A "trosula" (cavalry) garment, which is prepared with purple and bordered with scarlet dye, for which consequently the red is used, because "reddened" they used to fight on account of wounds and bespatterings of blood; consequently one could be clothed in this color, whence they were called "reddened" ones.⁸⁹

Soldiers need reddened garments, and so did the undertaker's employees.

The Palatine Graffito

To return to the Palatine Graffito (Figure 3).⁹⁰ The Greek has (with itacism) "Alexander worships god" (Ἀλε/ξανμενος / σεβετε / θεον). Here there is not space to enter into an extended iconographical discussion on the

⁸⁸ Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 7.612 (172,21-25 Thilo/Hagen): *tria genera esse trabearum: unum dis sacratum, quod est tantum de purpura; aliud regum, quod est purpureum, habet tamen album aliquid; tertium augurale de purpura et cocco. 'Quirinali' ergo 'regali'.* For the text from Suetonius see *Liber de genere vestium* § 165 (Teubner, *Praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae*, 266 Reifferscheid).

⁸⁹ Servius Danielis, *In Aen. Virg.* 7.612 (from the margin of MS Bern. 165; II.172, *app. crit.* Thilo/Hagen) (spelled so): *Preter quod servius dicit quidam dicunt esse tria genera trabearum regiam quirinalem trosulam. Regia est tota de sola purpura qua uti solis regibus licebat vel adulescentibus de stirpe regali. Quirinalis est concinior et preliis aptior... Trosula quae purpura cocoque pretexta conficitur cui idcirco coccum adhibetur quod russati ante proeliabantur propter vulnera et aspersiones sanguinis, quo posset hoc colore velari, unde russati vocabantur.* Bodel, "Dealing," 146, 151 n.13 refers to this scholion on the *Aeneid* of "Servius Danielis" (the longer version of Servius' commentary—perhaps based on the work of Aelius Donatus). The same principle (red garments to conceal blood) appears in a text of Isidore (*Orig.* 19.22.10: *Russata, quam Graeci phoeniceam vocant, nos coccinam, repertam a Lacedaemoniis ad celandum coloris similitudine sanguinem quotiens quis in acie vulneraretur, ne contemplanti adversario animus augeretur. Hanc sub consulibus Romani usi sunt milites; unde etiam russati vocabantur*).

⁹⁰ The digital reproduction is from M.A. Tomei, *Museo Palatino* (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma; Rome: Electa, 1997) 104. It is used by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma. I thank Prof. Timothy

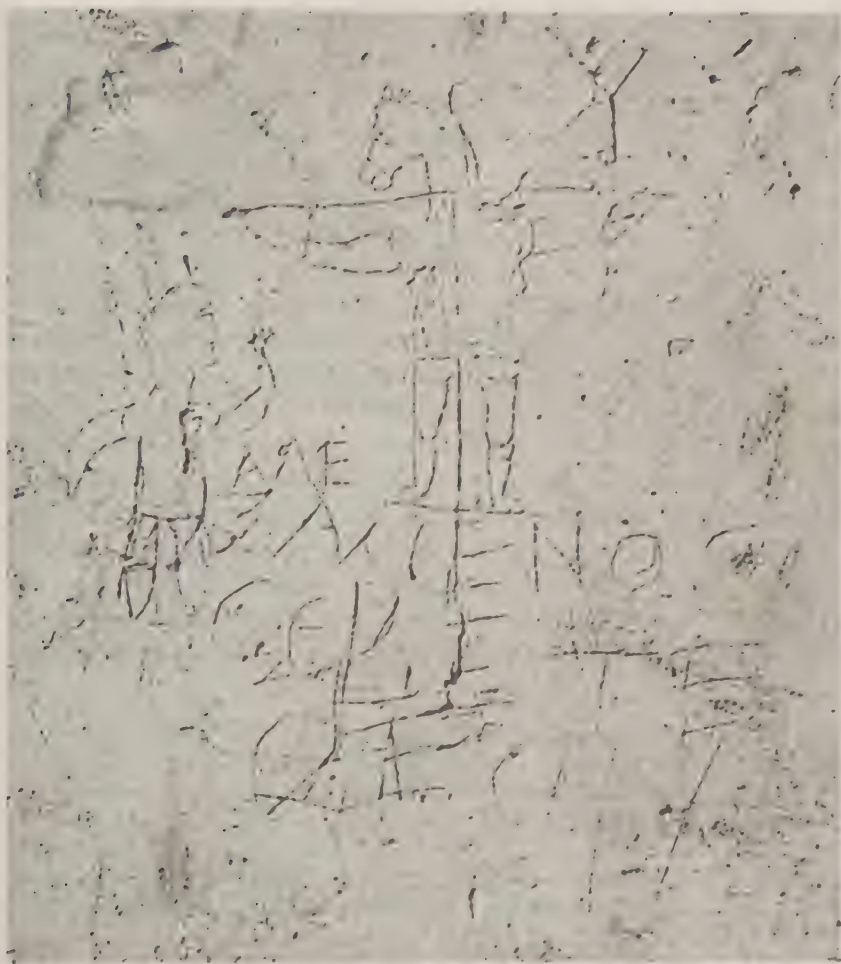


Figure 3. The Palatine Graffito.

Christian nature of the “god” depicted, but it is almost undoubtedly Christ.⁹¹ Pagans accused Christians of worshipping the head of an ass.⁹² The

Moore of U. Texas Austin for making the reproduction. S. Bettini, “Un Crocifisso—amuleto onocéfalo scoperta a Montagna,” *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 1 (1947), 60-70 speculatively identified a similar crucified figure with an ass’s head (on an amulet) as an example of Sethian Gnosticism. The evidence is slender.

⁹¹ The worshipping figure probably throws a kiss (Phaedrus, *Fab.* 5.7.28, Martial, *Epigr.* 1.3.7, Juvenal, *Sat.* 4.118). Cf. Solin and Itkonen-Kaila, *Graffiti*, 210.

⁹² Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 9.3, 28.7, Tertullian, *Apol.* 16.12 (a picture painted by an arena

same accusation was made against Jews.⁹³ The two figures in the graffito are wearing a sleeveless and short garment called a *colobium*.⁹⁴ Two texts from Servius illuminate its nature. In one, the ancients are said to have used *colobia*, in contrast to long-sleeved, ankle-long tunics.⁹⁵ In another text that explains Virgil's description of the Romans as a world-ruling people that "wears the toga," Servius notes that the toga is used by every sex and condition, but slaves did not have *colobia* or shoes.⁹⁶ In that text the *colobia* are undergarments (with short sleeves).⁹⁷ Isidore describes the garment as being long, but without sleeves (*Orig.* 19.22.24). Contemporary research has concluded that there was no specific clothing for slaves. Seneca describes a debate in which the senate refused to legislate a unique garment for slaves—fearing revolution.⁹⁸ Ulpian (*Sabin.* 44 in *Dig.* 34.2.23.2) describes the following as slave clothing: *familiarica sunt, quae ad familiam vestiendam parata sunt, sicuti saga tunicae paenulae lintea vestimenta stragula et consimilia* (slave garments, provided for clothing slaves, are things such as cloaks, tunics, hooded cloaks, linen "bed-clothing," and like things). Keith Bradley concludes that slave clothing was distinguished by quality and not by nature.⁹⁹ The garments of the figures in the graffito clearly belong to those of the underclass.¹⁰⁰ This is apparent, because the Romans did not

mercenary of a man with ass's ears, a one-hoofed foot, a book, and who wore a toga), Tert., *Nar.* 1.14.1-4 (the mercenary was a Jew who had abandoned paganism).

⁹³ Cf. J.G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (STAC 23, Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2004) 17, 27-28, 31 (many similar charges versus the Jews' God).

⁹⁴ Solin and Itkonen-Kaila, *Graffiti*, 209-210 argue it is by nature a slave's garment. However, H. Riemann ("Paedagogium Palatini," *PW* XVIII/2 [1942] 2205-2224, esp. 2214), while identifying the garment as a *colobium*, does not call it a slave's garment.

⁹⁵ Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 9.613 (II, 362,25-6 Thilo/Hagen): "*manicatis et talaribus tunicis: nam colobiis utebantur antiqui*. In *Codex theod.* 14.10.1. proem senators, in time of peace, should put on *colobia* and cloaks (*quieta coloborum ac paenularum induat vestimenta*). Cf. A. Mau, "Colobium," *PW* IV (1901) 483.

⁹⁶ Servius, *In Aen. Virg.* 1.282 (I, 104,14-16 Thilo/Hagen): *GENTEM TOGATAM bene gentem, quia et sexus omnis et condicio toga utebatur, sed servi nec colobia nec calceos habebant*.

⁹⁷ As in the entry in C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1879) s.v. The Greek cognate (κολόβιον) appears frequently in the papyri. Cp. P.Oxy. 6 § 921,6 and P.Oxy. 44 § 3201,2.

⁹⁸ Seneca, *Clem.* 1.24.1.

⁹⁹ K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), 87-89, 95-99. Cf. also M. George, "Slave Disguise in Ancient Rome," *Slavery and Abolition* 23/2 (2002), 41-54, esp. 43-45.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Solin and Itkonen-Kaila, *Graffiti*, § 98 (p. 134) for another figure who perhaps

usually crucify citizens, and the *Sitz im Leben* of the graffito is a training school for slaves.

The inscriptions that mention crucifixion and the graffito mutually illuminate one another. The cross was a slave's death or the death of one of the underclass who were not citizens—a miserable death. The illumination for the NT is beyond question since the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth is so central in NT theology. These inscriptions need to be integrated into a larger study of crucifixion in the ancient world that includes as much non-literary evidence as possible.¹⁰¹ Such an investigation would build upon that conducted already by Hengel, Kuhn, and their predecessors.

wears a similar garment. Given the source (a *paedagogium*), it is probably a slave's garment in this case also.

¹⁰¹ The increasing number of online epigraphic databases such as those listed in the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk>) is crucial. Cf., e.g., the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby (<http://compute-in.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/epigraphik> [accessed Nov. 3, 2007]) for much of *AE* and part of *CIL*.

Family Ethics in *4QInstruction* and the New Testament¹

Benjamin G. Wold

Dublin

Abstract

4QInstruction preserves an interpretation of the fifth commandment, to honor one's father and mother, which has similarities with Philo's comments on it. Because Philo's treatment of the command plays a pivotal role in assigning influences on instruction to family members in the New Testament, and the present opinion overwhelmingly views Philo as indebted to Greek schemas and content, evidence from more recently available Qumran literature suggests some of the New Testament *Haustafeln* may have more of a Jewish intellectual history than is currently acknowledged. This article explores the way biblical traditions—especially the Decalogue and creation traditions—are used for construing teachings to members of the family in the 1 Cor 11, Eph 5-6, Philo and *4QInstruction*.

Keywords

Gen 2-3, 1 Cor 11, Eph 5-6, *4QInstruction*, Philo, *Haustafeln*, Household Codes

New Testament scholars almost universally accept that Hellenistic influences exclusively lie behind instructions to husbands, wives, parents, children and slaves. This is so much the case that it is a *fait accompli* that Greek influences are completely responsible for the form and content of these so-called New Testament “household codes” (e.g. Col 3-4; Eph 5-6). In light of newer Jewish documents, particularly *4QInstruction* (4Q415-418, 423; 1Q26), however, this position should be re-evaluated. Although Hellenistic tradition remains important, Jewish interpretive traditions are potentially relevant to the study of New Testament *Haustafeln* as well.

¹ I would like to thank the *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung* for making this research possible.

I. Philo and the Fifth Commandment of the Decalogue

Before addressing the importance of *4QInstruction*, however, we must first comment on the relevant passages of Philo. Until now, they proved to be one of the closest Jewish parallels to the form of instruction to family members in the New Testament. Philo has long been discussed in regard to household codes because he finds the fifth commandment of the Decalogue, to honor one's father and mother, as a natural point of departure for discussing marriage and child rearing and, moreover, groups family members in distinct pairs.²

More specifically, Philo's treatise on the Decalogue 165-167 (cf. *De spec. Leg.* II.225-227) is arguably one of the closest parallels to New Testament instruction directed at the family. In Philo's discourse on the Decalogue, he describes how groups of pairs are subordinate to one another. He suggests that honoring parents helps one understand how to deal with relations between old and young, ruler and subjects, as well as slave to master. Philo's interest in pairs also leads him to comment more broadly on the subjugation of children and the young.

Significant for the discussion about influences on Philo when he interprets the fifth commandment, in the late-1950s David Schroeder argued that Philo's ethic derived from the Decalogue within a Jewish Hellenistic context.³ This was, in fact, a break from previous research on *Haustafeln* and never gained broad acceptance in scholarly circles.⁴ Schroeder draws

² See E. Kamlah, "Philos Beitrag zur Aufhellung der Geschichte der Haustafeln," in G. Schwarz (ed.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Beiträge II zur Allgemeinsemantik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1976) 90-95.

³ D. Schroeder, *Die Haustafeln des Neuen Testaments: Ihre Herkunft und theologischer Sinn* (Dissertation: Hamburg University, 1959) see esp. 69-74, 85, 92 and 124.

⁴ M. Dibelius first suggested that Stoic ethics were behind New Testament household instruction (*An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1913]). His disciple K. Weidinger attributes the ethic to Hellenistic sources (esp. Hierocles) and draws attention to the appropriation of such ideas by Philo (*Die Haustafeln, ein Stück urchristlichen Paränese* [UNT 14; Leipzig: J.C. Heinrich, 1928] 25-27). However P. Stuhlmacher, "Christliche Verantwortung bei Paulus und seinen Schülern," *EvT* 4 (1968) 177-180 also discusses the Jewish Hellenistic interpretation of the Decalogue: "Wir haben schon gesehen, wie Paulus das Material für seine Paränese weitgehend aus der praktischen Torausagelegung des hellenistischen Judentums nahm. Wir können nun noch einmal dieselbe Beobachtung machen. . . . Genauer: er entnimmt sie der Dekalogausagelegung der Diasporasynagoge, vor allem der dort gebräuchlichen welthaften Interpretation des 4. Gebots [= fifth commandment]."

parallels between Philo and the New Testament, especially in Colossians and Ephesians. More recently, Marlis Gielen has supported the conclusion of Schroeder based on a stylistic argument about apodictic law. Direct exhortations in household codes are seen to derive from the laws of the Hebrew Bible, and she suggests readers of the New Testament would have turned to the Septuagint in order to understand such teachings.⁵

In the last decades David Balch has made significant contributions to understanding influences on both the form and content of family codes in New Testament writings.⁶ Similar to a number of his predecessors on the subject, Balch draws attention to the significance of the fifth commandment in Philo as a parallel to New Testament instruction. Of particular significance is the following passage in Philo's *Special Laws* (*De spec. Leg.* II.224–227):

I now proceed to the fifth, which states the duty of honouring parents, a matter of which, as I have shewn in the discussion devoted to this in particular, stands on the border-line between [μεθόριον] the human and the divine.⁷ For Parents are midway between the nature of God and man, and partake of both; the human obviously because they have been born and will perish, the divine because they have brought others to the [sic] birth and have raised not-being into being. Parents, in my opinion, are to their children what God is to the world, since just as he achieved existence for the non-existent, so they in imitation of His power, as far as they are capable, immortalize the race. And a father and mother deserve honour, not only on this account, but for many other reasons.⁸ For in the judgement of those who take account of virtue, seniors are placed above juniors, teachers above pupils, benefactors above beneficiaries, rulers above subjects, and masters above servants. Now parents are assigned a place in the higher of these two orders, for they are seniors and instructors and benefactors and rulers and masters:

⁵ M. Gielen, *Tradition und Theologie neutestamentlicher Haustafelethik: Ein Beitrag zur Frage einer christlichen Auseinandersetzung mit gesellschaftlichen Normen* (BBB 75; Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1990). P. 44 she suggests that her approach supports the conclusions of Schroeder: "Zusammenfassend läßt sich zur Arbeit Schroeders sagen, daß es ihm überzeugend gelungen ist, nachzuweisen, daß die ntl. HTT nicht in einer religionsgeschichtlichen Verbindung zu den stoischen Pflichtenreihen stehen. Darüberhinaus hat er auch die sprachliche Gestaltung der einzelnen HT-Weisungen als Anlehnung an die apodiktischen Rechtssätze des AT befriedigend erklären können."

⁶ See esp. D.L. Balch, *Let Wives be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981).

⁷ μέτεμι ἐπὶ τὸ πέμπτον τὸ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς, ὃ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἔδειξα, μεθόριον ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θεῶν (*De spec. Leg.* II.224).

⁸ Balch, *Let Wives*, 53 does not include the italicised portion of this passage, but rather moves directly to the following section that addresses order and pairs.

sons and daughters are placed in the lower order, for they are juniors and learners and recipients of benefits and subjects and servants.⁹

In this passage, Philo sets views on pairs within a framework comparing parents with God. Balch concludes that when Philo interprets the fifth commandment it is “in light of Platonic and Aristotelian political ethics.”¹⁰ Balch focuses considerable attention on three pairs of relationships—master/slave; husband/wife; father/children—which he views ultimately as Aristotelian political ideals passed down from the Peripatetics, outlined by Arius Didymus, rejected by Philodemus and known to Cicero and Philo. Indeed, so pervasive are these political ideas that Balch concludes “Philo used them to interpret the Old Testament Decalogue!”¹¹

James Crouch is another contributor to the conversation who merits attention. He concludes that family ethics in the New Testament were significantly influenced by oriental Judaism.¹² Like Schroeder, Crouch finds the Jewish Hellenistic (esp. in Ps.-Phocylides and Philo) expression of the form of this ethic to be distinctive. However, unlike Schroeder, Crouch does not view New Testament family ethics as having developed *from* the Decalogue. Indeed, he comments on Philo’s use of the fifth commandment that it provides him with “his best opportunity to press the Stoic καθήκον schema into the service of the Jewish Torah.”¹³

Schroeder, Balch, Crouch and Gielen have each offered appraisals of traditions that influenced Philo. Schroeder and subsequently Gielen suggest that family ethics grow out of the fifth commandment. Balch finds Platonic and Aristotelian political ideas behind Philo’s interpretation of the Decalogue and, thus, does not find significant Jewish influence on New Testament family ethics. Crouch, finding Stoic influence on Philo’s interpretation of the Decalogue, minimizes the commandment’s significance and argues that New Testament ethics are heavily influenced by a conjectured

⁹ Note: the text of Philo’s writings is quoted from F.H. Colson (and G.H. Whitaker for vols. I-V), Philo I-X, Loeb Classical Library (1929-62).

¹⁰ Balch, *Let Wives*, 53-54.

¹¹ Balch, *Let Wives*, 117, see also 62 where he summarizes: “The elements of the topos as outlined by Aristotle appear in Ariston, Hecaton, Seneca, and Hierocles, all eclectic Stoic. With respect to the question of the availability of the topos for Jewish and Christian writers, it is important that the Hellenistic Jew Philo used the topos to interpret the Decalogue.”

¹² J.E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (FRLANT 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 13-36.

¹³ Crouch, *The Origin*, 79.

Jewish oriental missionary source. For Crouch and Balch, reflection on the fifth commandment is not where family ethics derived, but rather the command served as a convenient departure point for Philo to expound upon ideals gleaned from well-known Greek sources.

Scholars have often commented and disagreed with Schroeder's conclusions about the background of New Testament instruction to family members. Most recently, Gielen has supported the thesis of Schroeder, but her work has been sharply criticized and does not appear to have been persuasive.¹⁴ For the present conversation, the issue is not whether form and content are influenced by Greek discussions on οἰκονόμοι and follow Greek schemas, but rather whether Jewish Palestinian influences could *also* be viewed as exerting influence on family ethics.¹⁵ Accordingly, when we demonstrate that Philo's interpretation of the fifth commandment may reflect a Jewish interpretive tradition such as attested in *4QInstruction*, it becomes necessary to rethink the intellectual background to New Testament *Haustafeln*.

II. *4QInstruction* and the Fifth Commandment of the Decalogue

Before we compare Philo's interpretation of the fifth commandment with that of *4QInstruction*, some relevant background information needs to be given. *4QInstruction* is the longest document of its kind among the Dead Sea Scrolls. It shares characteristics of "traditional" wisdom and apocalyptic genres.¹⁶ As the title of the document suggests, it is concerned with instruction about how to conduct oneself in both a this-worldly and other-worldly way.¹⁷ Regarding the latter, the one addressed is exhorted how to

¹⁴ See the review of D.L. Balch, *JBL* 114/1 (1995) 172-174.

¹⁵ Within Philonic Studies it is well accepted that Philo Judaizes Greek ideas and Hellenizes Jewish ideas, e.g. see S. Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 122. Also acknowledged is Philo's awareness of Palestinian Jewish traditions, see C.T.R. Hayward, "Balaam's Prophecies as Interpreted by Philo and the Aramaic Targums of the Pentateuch," in C.T.R. Hayward & P.J. Harland (eds.), *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium, Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (SVT 77; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 36.

¹⁶ *4QInstruction* is also referred to by its Hebrew title *Musar leMevin* ("Instruction to an Understanding One").

¹⁷ M.J. Goff makes a well-reasoned case that *4QInstruction* is "the best example available of a Second Temple wisdom text that has an apocalyptic worldview"; see *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 232.

behave towards angelic beings and gain esoteric hidden wisdom (רז נהיה). Instruction related to this-worldly behavior teaches about how family members should relate to each other as well as financial issues, such as debt. As we shall see, both aspects of the document's theology are important for our evaluation of influences on Philo.

4QInstruction was likely composed in the 3rd century BCE. The document is written in Hebrew and survives in at least eight manuscripts, however these manuscripts taken together preserve less than 40% of the document. Although the work clearly indicates that the addressee has an elect status, there is no reason to classify it as deriving from the "Essene" community. Indeed, the *opinio communis* is that 4QInstruction should be categorized as a "pre-Essene" (or "non-Essene") work based, in large part, on the conjectured date of composition and absence of distinctive terminology.¹⁸ Furthermore, although the document is not preserved outside of Qumran, there is no reason to conclude that it could not have been circulated more broadly in Palestinian Jewish communities.

The part of the document that is most relevant for the present conversation is 4Q416 2 iii lines 15-19. This passage belongs to the largest fragment of 4QInstruction which preserves large parts of four columns (4Q416 2 i-iv). In the latter two columns of this fragment, teachings occur about how members of the family should relate to one another. Not only is the fifth commandment rewritten, but there are also numerous allusions to Gen 2-3, which will be commented on further below. Allusions to these portions of the creation narrative figure significantly in instruction to both husbands and fathers concerning the taking of a wife or giving of a daughter.¹⁹

An interest in relations between husbands and wives as well as parents and children in 4QInstruction is not limited to 4Q416 2 ii-iv however. 4Q415 2 ii preserves a rare second person feminine singular address teaching women to honor their husbands.²⁰ While one may construe that a

¹⁸ See B.G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNTII 201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 7-19.

¹⁹ 4Q416 2 iv 5 addresses a husband, "you will be *made one* with the wife of your bosom for she is the body of [your] naked[ness]." This is preceded with a statement to a father (2 iv 4), "he will separate your daughter for another..." while in ln. 7 after a man takes a wife, God is said to have "given you dominion, for her to walk in your good pleasure."

²⁰ See Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 199-202.

woman is directly addressed, another likely possibility is that the addressee is told how to instruct his wife.²¹ These lines may originally have been introduced with a statement that "the understanding one should teach his wife in this manner: 'honor [your husband] like a father' [2 ii 1; and] 'do not remove your heart[...; 2 ii 2]. Another fragment, 4Q415 11, is concerned with instructing a father how to deal with a situation of giving away a daughter and a would be son-in-law in taking a wife. This teaching appears to be derived from reflections on Gen 2: the establishment of the first pair and later separation of children from parents. Another noteworthy fragment in *4QInstruction* for considering exhortations about family relations is 4Q415 9. Although fragmentary, one may decipher a description of men having dominion over women (4Q415 9 8, "male having dominion over the f[emale]").

4QInstruction was first made available in a critical edition in 1999.²² In less than a decade numerous publications have been produced on the document. Among contributions have been several that suggest the significance for reading the New Testament.²³ One issue that has not been fully explored is the relationship of exegetical traditions in the document with those in the New Testament and early Jewish and Christian literature. In this regard, not only is the interpretation of the fifth commandment in Philo relevant

²¹ There are no other addresses to women in ancient Jewish literature except Tob 10:12 ("He said to his daughter, 'honor your father and your mother-in-law, which are now your parents, that I may hear a good report about you'"). "Mother-in-law" is omitted in Sinaiticus on 10:12. 1QS^a (1Q28) i 4-5 depicts women and children being included in the reading forth of precepts of the covenant: "in their coming in they will gather those who enter, from children to women, and they shall read out to them from all the precepts of the covenant (חוקי הברית)."

²² J. Strugnell, D.J. Harrington and T. Elgvin, *DJD XXXIV* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

²³ For a discussion of 1 Thess 4:4 and the phrase "vessel of your bosom" see *DJD XXXIV*, 109; Elgvin, "To Master His Own Vessel, 1 Thess 4:4 in Light of New Qumran Evidence," *NTS* 43 (1997) 604-619; J.E. Smith, "Another Look at 4Q416 2 ii.21, a Critical Parallel to First Thessalonians 4:4," *CBQ* 63 (2001) 409-504; Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 192-194, and "Reconstructing and Reading 4Q416 2 ii 21: Comments on Menahem Kister's Proposal," in *DSD* 12/2 (2005) 205-211. For the relationship of "Spirit" and "Flesh" see J. Frey, "Die paulinische Antithese von 'Fleisch' und 'Geist' und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstraditionen," *ZNW* 90 (1999) 45-77. On the relationship of wisdom and apocalyptic in the synoptic gospels and Q see M.J. Goff, "Discerning Trajectories: *4QInstruction* and the Sapiential Background of the Saying Source Q," *JBL* 124/4 (2005) 657-673. And on 1 Cor 8:5 see B.G. Wold, "Reconsidering an Aspect of the Title *Kyrios* in Light of Sapiential Fragment 4Q416 2 ii 21," *ZNW* 95/3-4 (2004) 149-160.

as one background of family instruction in the New Testament, but also possible roles creation traditions may have in this connection are too. While the focus of this study is an interpretation of the Decalogue in *4QInstruction*, creation traditions surround the re-writing of the fifth commandment and are an integral part of teachings to family members.

A great deal of literature is available for exploring the subject of Greco-Roman *Haustafeln* and New Testament instruction to the family. To date, however, there has been no effort to draw attention to the significance of documents in the Qumran library to better understand possible influences on teachings to family members in the New Testament. Perhaps one reason for this has been the misperception that Qumran literature only represents a minority group of monastic Jews. In the case of *4QInstruction*, and more specifically the fifth commandment in 4Q416 2 iii lines 15-19, this document was not available to Schroeder, Balch, and Crouch for their estimations of Philo's use of the command.

4QInstruction invokes the fifth commandment in a way similar enough to Philo that one may surmise they could know a common interpretation of it. These and surrounding lines of *4QInstruction* teach the addressee how to behave in family relations and, similar to Philo's *Special Laws* (*De spec. Leg.* II.225-227), consider earthly parentage as an act of creation which shares similarities with the divine. I translate and interpret these lines as follows:

(15) תביט ואז תדע מה מר לאיש ומה מתוק לגבר כבוד אביכה ברישכה
 (16) ואמכה במצעריכה כי כאל לאיש כן אב'הו וכאדנים לגבר כן אמו כי
 (17) המה כור הוריכה וכאשר המשילמה בכה ויצר על הרוח כן עובדם וכאשר
 (18) גלה אוזנכה ברו נהיה כבדם למען כבודכה וב[הדר פניהמה
 (19) למען חייכה ארוך ימיכה *Vacat*

(15) Gaze and then know what is bitter for a man
 and what is sweet to a man.²⁴

Honor your father in your low estate,

(16) and your mother in your youth.

For as God²⁵ is to a man so is his father,

²⁴ גבר here may mean simply "man", however, in both lines 15-16 it stands juxtaposed to איש and could suggest a purposeful distinction.

²⁵ Parallel fragment 4Q418 9a-9c has the variant כאב ("as a father") rather than כאל ("as God"). Because אב occurs twice in these lines already, it is easier to explain a scribal error resulting in אב than אל.

and as angelic beings²⁶ are to a man so is his mother.
 For (17) they [both] are the oven of your parentage,
 and as he set them in authority over you,
 and fashioned you according to the spirit,
 so serve them.
 And as (18) he uncovered your ear to the mystery of existence,
 honor them for your own honor
 [and]venerate their presence.
 (19) [Do this] for the sake of your life and length of your days.

On the one hand, a straightforward exhortation to honor father and mother occurs in these lines, on the other, however, is an unusual analogy that a father is like God and a mother like angelic beings (כַּאֲדָנִים). This analogy appears to be the basis upon which the command to honor parents is structured.

4Q416 2 iii lines 15-19 exhort children to honor parents because as a pair they brought them into existence. The creative act of fathers and mothers is analogous to the creation of humanity by God and the angels, which appears to be part of the documents broader theology (cf. 4Q417 1 i 15-18 and its interpretation of the plural address in Gen 1:26, "come let us make man in our image and likeness").²⁷

Philo conceives of parents as μεθόριος (see *De spec. Leg.* II.224 above) between mortal and divine while in 4QInstruction there is a simile of a mother being like an angelic being. The rare occurrences of μεθόριος in Philo describe the mediating roles of: (1) Jacob-Israel between God and the world (e.g. *De mut. Nom.* 45); (2) the divine Logos between elements of the created world and the harmony of the universe (e.g. *De Plant.* 10);²⁸

²⁶ The term אֲדָנִים is rendered as "angelic beings" (lit. "lords") based upon a two-fold argument: (1) the surrounding context is interested in and uses unusual language for angels, and (2) there is at least one other occurrence of אֲדָנִים as "angels" in the DSS, 1QBook of Noah (1Q19 2 5). See Wold, "Reconsidering an Aspect," where this is argued in detail.

²⁷ J.J. Collins, "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran," in D.W. Parry & E. Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 609-18; and Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 124-149.

²⁸ For the Father Who begat Him constituted His Word such a Bond of the Universe as nothing can break. Good reason, then, have we to be sure that all the earth shall not be dissolved by all the water which has gathered within its hollows; nor fire be quenched by air; nor, on the other hand, air be ignited by fire. The Divine Word stations Himself [μεθόριον] to keep these elements apart, like a Vocal between voiceless elements of speech,

(3) the high priest between the people Israel and God (e.g. *De Somn.* II.187-188); (4) the “perfect man” between the borderline of uncreated and corruptible (e.g. *De Somn.* II.234-235); (5) the First Man with a nature between mortal and immortal; and (6) parents.²⁹ Parents in Philo stand alongside other exalted entities who serve as a boundary between mortal and immortal natures.

Angelic beings are a crucial aspect of *4QInstruction*’s theology and play several important functions. They serve as role models for the addressees because they pursue wisdom with greater diligence (4Q418 55, 69). The addressee, who is described and reminded that he is poor, shares in a type of heavenly wealth with angels (4Q416 2 iii).³⁰ Even though angelic beings are superior to the addressee, they are inferior to God. Therefore, the comparison between father/mother with God/angels is a distinction between two natures. One may conceive of angels playing a divine mediating role in *4QInstruction* as venerated beings who are subordinate to God (see esp. 4Q418 81).³¹ Moreover, exhortations about how men and women are to relate are likely part of instruction about the behavior of pairs in the document more generally (e.g. spirit/flesh in 4Q417 1 i 15-18).³² However, the elect addressees in *4QInstruction* are distinguished from others in the community because they achieve understanding in varying degrees. Thus, one could summarize that when one gains wisdom vis-à-vis the cryptic *mystery*

that the universe may send forth a harmony like that of a masterpiece of literature (*De Plant.* 9-10).

²⁹ C.T.R. Hayward, “Philo, the Septuagint of Genesis 32:24-32 and the Name ‘Israel’: Fighting the Passions, Inspiration and the Vision of God,” *JJS* 51/2 (2000) 214-215. “The reason I consider is this: we see that parents by their nature stand on the border-line between [μεθόριον] the mortal and the immortal side of existence, the mortal because of their kinship with men and other animals through the perishableness of the body; the immortal because the act of generation assimilates them to God, the generator of all” (*De Dec.* 107). μεθόριος is not a New Testament word and occurs seldom in classical sources (Plato, *Leg.* 878b).

³⁰ This poverty is at times metaphorical and describes the nature of the addressee (i.e. lacking in wisdom and understanding of esoteric mysteries). See Wold, “Metaphorical Poverty in *Musar leMevin*,” *JJS* 58/1 (2007) 140-153.

³¹ L.T. Stuckenbruck, “Angels’ and ‘God’: Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism,” in L.T. Stuckenbruck and W.S. North (eds.), *Exploring Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (JSNTSS 263; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2004) 45-70.

³² In 4Q416 2 iii 8-9 and 4Q416 2 iv 6 are warnings not to transgress boundaries (גבול), which likely relates to the ordering of natures on a number of levels: divine/angel; man/woman; and spirit/flesh.

of being (רַז נְהִיָּה), some of the elect draw nearer than others to the “μεθόρισς” figures (= angelic beings).

Another significant theme in *4QInstruction* is teaching the addressee how to behave and relate to his wife. The lines that immediately follow the use of the fifth commandment may be reconstructed and translated as dealing with a wife’s origins (ln. 20 “in your low-estate you took a wife, understand [her] origins”)³³ and are followed by an allusion to Gen 2:18 where woman is described as man’s helper (ln. 21 “walk together with the helpmeet of your flesh”). Both of these ideas—the derivation of woman and her description as a helper—are formulated with allusions to Gen 2 and provide the backdrop for instruction that immediately follows. In a running allusion to Gen 1-3, the author describes that: (a) a woman leaves her mother and father and the newly married pair becomes one flesh (4Q416 2 iv 1,4); (b) authority transfers from her mother and father to the new husband (iv 2-4); and (c) the joining of man and woman leads to unity or oneness with her (iv 5).

While 4Q416 2 ii-iv are among the best preserved columns in *4QInstruction*, they are still fragmentary and at points difficult to decipher. They appear to struggle with the role of women based on creation narratives. On the one hand, she is a co-creator and should be honored. Although she becomes a unity with her husband (iv 5), the author is certain to describe that both parents and husband enjoy a superior status. Rather than an equal she is a “helper” who leaves the protection of her parents only to be ruled by another (iv 7, “[she is to] walk according to your pleasure”). These lines warn against the mistreatment of women and on one occasion the one addressed is exhorted not to “dishonor the vessel of his bosom” (4Q416 2 ii 21). Furthermore, the epithet “wife of your bosom,” which occurs twice in these lines (אִשֶּׁת חִיקְכָּה; 2 iv 5, 12), may stress male dominance or superiority to women.³⁴

³³ That is: קַח מוֹלִידִיָּה, which likely refers to the creation of man preceding the creation of woman. The words מוֹלִידִים and בֵּית מוֹלִידִים should be understood in *4QInstruction* as relating to origins, see Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 85-87 and 185-187, and “Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Exodus, Creation and Cosmos,” in L.T. Stuckenbruck (et al.), *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity* (WUNT 212; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 72 n. 78. Among the seven occurrences of מוֹלִידִים and בֵּית מוֹלִידִים the majority are concerned with creation, six are preceded with an imperative to seek or take it (4Q415 11 11; 4Q416 2 iii 9, 20; 4Q417 2 i 11; 4Q418 9, 8; 4Q418 202 1) suggesting similarities with the “mystery of being.”

³⁴ Cf. Deut 28:54 where this epithet carries negative connotations. In the context of the

Given the paucity of Jewish material from antiquity that may have interpreted the fifth commandment but is no longer available for consideration, it is feasible that Philo was aware of a Jewish tradition preserved in a Palestinian Jewish document: *4QInstruction*. Philo's comments on the commandment could be indebted to an interpretive tradition which was broadly known. Indeed, if this is the case then evidence from *4QInstruction* should be taken into consideration when discussing family ethics in the New Testament.

III. Genesis 2 in *4QInstruction* and the New Testament

Similar to *4QInstruction*, on three occasions in the New Testament (1 Cor 11; Eph 5; 1 Tim 2) relationships between different members of the household are discussed in the framework of Genesis creation traditions, most often in allusion to Gen 2. *4QInstruction*, in addition to elucidating a possible tradition known in some form by Philo, provides information for evaluating the role interpretations of Genesis creation narratives play in reflecting on the family. Two sustained allusions to creation in Eph 5 and 1 Cor 11 merit attention in this regard.³⁵ Shared ideas between *4QInstruction*, Philo and the New Testament illustrate that the Decalogue and Gen 2-3 were both significant in forming traditions about the ordering of relations between members of the family.

1 Cor 11:2-16 considers a sequence of authority beginning with Christ to man and then from man to woman. Subjugation of woman to man is based upon a reading of Gen 2:21-23. Man was created in the image of God while woman was created from Adam (11:7-9). In 1 Cor 11:11-12, the view that Adam produced Eve, but woman now bears man, is seized upon by Paul to stress the interdependence of the genders (vs. 12 "for as woman was made from man, so man is now born of woman").

Both Corinthians and *4QInstruction* preserve similar interpretive traditions of creation: the natural order known now, that all human life comes from woman, is an inversion of the first act of creation when woman was

creation and the derivation of men and women, it may be that "wife of your bosom" is indicative of woman's creation from the side of man.

³⁵ 1 Tim 2:11-15 is another passage that could be considered, here and in *4QInstruction* one might consider that: (a) both refer to the origin and sequence of the genders to instruct on proper relations between the genders (1 Tim 2:13); and (b) the authority of men over women is based on Gen 2 (cf. 1 Tim 2:12; 4Q415 9 7-8; 4Q418a 18 4).

begotten by the first man Adam. In *4QInstruction*, the origin of woman appears to be significant when instructing husband and wives. In this regard, 4Q417 1 i lines 8-9 are of interest. These lines may be reconstructed and translated as describing the separation of woman from man:

(8) עד ואז תדע בין [טו]ב ל[רע כ]מעש[יהם] כי א אל הדעות סוד אמת ברז נהיה
(9) פרש את אישה ומעשיה ... [לכל חכ]מה ולכל [ע]רמה יצרה וממשלת מעשיה

(8) ... eternity,
and then you shall know [the difference] between good and evil,
according to their deeds,
for the God of knowledge is a foundation of truth,
and by the mystery of existence (9) *he separated woman,*
and her deeds ... [in all wis]dom,
and all [cra]ftiness he fashioned her,
and dominion of her deeds ...³⁶

Meditation on creation in *4QInstruction* results in exhorting husbands to rule over their wives. On at least two occasions the addressee is told to have dominion over her (תמשול בה in 4Q416 2 ii 3; המשיל בה in 4Q416 2 iv 2-3). Here in 4Q417 1 i, the woman could be seen as being separated from man and fashioned. Language related to woman's deeds and dominion over them may allude to the final phrase in Gen 3:16 that "he shall rule over her" (והוא ימשל בד).

References to the origin of woman (esp. 4Q416 2 iii) is also an indication that this is an important theme in *4QInstruction*. In 4Q415 2 ii, where the second person feminine singular addresses occur, are references to the origins of woman as well (lns. 7, 9). While the context is too fragmentary to determine with certainty how they should be understood, it is reasonable to consider that woman's derivation from man is the basis for instructing her.³⁷

Eph 5:22-33 and 4Q416 2 iii-iv both instruct husbands and wives. There are some similarities between these two passages, the clearest parallel being the use of Gen 2:24 (Eph 5:31; 416 2 iv 1). The pronominal suffixes of "his" father and "his" mother are damaged beyond recognition. When these two texts take up the idea of becoming one flesh, they separately

³⁶ For justification of this rendering see Wold, "Reconstructing and Reading 4Q416 2 ii 21," 207-209.

³⁷ For more extensive comments on the origins of woman see Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 183-206.

consider that a wife is part of the husband's body (Eph 5:28 σώματα, 416 2 iv 5 שאר). In Eph 5:30, Eve's derivation from Adam is the source of an analogy between the church and Christ: "for we [the church] are part of his [Christ's] body". Indeed, in 5:32 this is described as a mystery (μυστήριον).³⁸ One aspect of the mystery (רז נהיה) in 4QInstruction is a unity and yet division between woman and man. The *mystery of being* in 4QInstruction is related to meditation on the nature and order of the created cosmos, and interpretations of creation are crucial for deciphering this mystery.

Eph 5-6 are especially significant for relating teachings to the family in 4QInstruction to those of Paul. Directly after reference to creation in chapter 5, chapter 6 continues instruction to family members in connection with the fifth commandment: "Children, obey your parents, for it is right that you should; 'honor your father and mother' is the first commandment with a promise attached." (6:1).

In Ephesians and 4QInstruction how men and women relate is intertwined with views on creation and the commandment for children to honor their parents. Similarly, the order of creation, specifically woman's creation after and from man, is contemplated in 1 Corinthians and Ephesians for determining family roles.³⁹ When 4QInstruction teaches the addressees how to relate to family members, particularly one's wife, two biblical traditions are alluded to and rewritten: the fifth commandment and Gen 2. That these two passages are interpreted together should come as no surprise as they both share an interest in creation and the response of the created to their creator(s).

³⁸ The "mystery" in Ephesians has been considered often in relation to 3:9, 6:19 and even selected material from Qumran (e.g. 1QpHab vii 1-5), but not 4QInstruction. See M. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT II 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990); J. Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of St. Paul and its Parallels at Qumran," in J. Murphy-O'Connor (ed.), *Paul at Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (London: Chapman, 1968) 146. See also G. Strecker, "Die neutestamentlichen Haustafeln (Kol 3,18-4,1 und Eph 5,22-6,9)," in H. Merklein (ed.), *Neues Testament und Ethik: Für Rudolf Schackenburg* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1989) 349-375.

³⁹ In both 1 Cor 11 and Eph 5 the interpretation of κεφαλή as "source" or "authority over" is hotly debated. 4QInstruction's teaching on women and men may, contextually, move this conversation forward. See C.A. Perriman, "The Head of a Woman: The Meaning of κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3," in *JTS* 45 (1994) 602-622; J. Fitzmyer, "Another Look at κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3," in *NTS* 35 (1989) 503-511; R.S. Cervin, "Does κεφαλή Mean 'Source' or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature," in *TJ* (1989) 85-112; C.C. Kroeger, "The Classical Concept of Head as 'Source,'" in G.G. Hull (ed.), *Equal to Serve* (London: Scripture Union, 1987) 267-283.

IV. Conclusions

As we have seen, *4QInstruction* interprets the fifth commandment which has affinities with Philo. The suggestion that Philo may know traditions preserved in a Palestinian Jewish document, particularly a scroll from Qumran, need not be a claim to any direct connection between them. Particular hearers and readers would have taken interpretations with them in the same way sea currents take flotsam and jetsam to different shores. That the fifth commandment was used to reflect on parents as creators as well as mediating figures between mortal and divine—and is preserved in these two compositions—suggests that these traditions could have been more broadly known and scattered, but only preserved in two places.

Philo's interpretation of the fifth commandment could certainly be viewed as reflecting Stoic or Aristotelian political ideals. However, he was also familiar with Jewish traditions that interpreted biblical literature and should not so easily be dismissed as using the Bible as a point of departure. Moreover, Philo often seeks to demonstrate the value of biblical interpretation, in this case he appears to be engaged as an exegete who links Greek views on pairs to a particular Jewish view on the created order and an analogy of parents as participants in the divine act of creation.

Philo's comments on the fifth commandment are seen as a crucial precursor to New Testament instruction to the family. Presently, evaluations of Philo's comments on the Decalogue view him as being almost wholly dependent on Hellenistic traditions. The evidence from *4QInstruction* may help us not only to better view influences on teachings about the family in the New Testament, but also call into question that Philo, in this instance, is Hellenizing Jewish ideas rather than Judaizing Greek ideas. At the very least, a balanced view of the intellectual background to New Testament *Haustafeln* should be one that is open to the possibility that Palestinian exegetical traditions play a role in their formulation.

Book Review

Stefan Alkier, Richard B. Hays (Hrsg.), *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften: Konzepte intertextueller Bibellektüre* (Tübingen, Basel: Francke, 2005), viii + 281 pp., 48 €, ISBN 3-7720-8098-7 (NET 10).

Die Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes gehen auf eine internationale Konferenz unter dem Thema *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften* zurück. Sie fand im November 2004 an der Universität Frankfurt unter Leitung der Herausgeber statt. Mit diesem Thema wollen die Autoren die interdisziplinäre Intertextualitätsforschung voranbringen und sich von solchen bibeltheologischen Konzeptionen verabschieden, "die ein wie auch immer formuliertes abgeschlossenes Sinnzentrum als dogmatische Lehrinheit der Schrift rekonstruieren wollen" (vii). Vielmehr möchten sie die Bibel als ein Buch verstehen, "das Dialogizität eröffnet und zum Dialog verschiedener, kontroverser und zum Teil auch unvereinbarer Standpunkte und Perspektiven nötigt. Die Bibel birgt kein Sinnzentrum, auf das hin die Differenzen ihrer Schriften aufgehoben werden könnten. Sie eröffnet vielmehr Räume zwischen Texten, deren Zusammenlesen eine Pluralität von Sinneffekten generiert" (vii).

Im *ersten Teil* geht es um "Intertextuelle Lektüren biblischer Texte". S. Alkier untersucht "Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften und das Problem der Verstockung in Mk 4: Intertextualität im Rahmen einer kategorialen Semiotik biblischer Texte" (1-22, von der Dialogizität zur Intertextualität, das Arbeitsfeld der Intertextualität im Rahmen einer kategorialen Semiotik biblischer Texte, intertextuelle Perspektiven Biblischer Theologie sowie "Verstockung und Selbstkritik: Mit Markus Jesaja lesen"). S. Moyise beleuchtet die Beziehung zwischen "Intertextualität und historische(n) Zugänge zum Schriftgebrauch im Neuen Testament" (23-34, gute Einleitung, Studien zu Off 5:5f; 20-22; Jes 8:12f in 1 Petr 3:14f, Diskussion von Chancen und Grenzen intertextueller Zugänge). Moyise schließt: "Intertextualität benötigt solche historische Einschränkungen, um die ansonsten unbegrenzte Menge der möglichen Einflüsse zu begrenzen, aber erinnert daran, dass Bedeutung kein isoliertes Phänomen ist. Die Autoren des NT

hatten vielleicht einen einzigen Zweck . . . , wenn sie ein Zitat aus der Schrift zitierten, aber die Wirkungen können sie nicht mehr kontrollieren. Jedes Zitat ist eine Brücke zu einem anderen Text, aber was über die Brücke geht, ist nicht auf die Intention eines Autors beschränkt" (34).

M. Schneider fragt nach dem Handeln Gottes und antwortet mit intertextuellen Lektüren zu 1. Korinther 10 (35-55). Die wesentliche Frage des Kapitels ist die nach dem Handeln Gottes als Richter und gerechter Versucher, "Daher lassen sich eine Reihe (biblischer) Geschichten parallel lesen, die das Eingreifen und Handeln Gottes in der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit seiner Schöpfung thematisieren. . . . Intertextuelle Lektüre bietet keine Erklärung einzelner Begriffe, Texte, Textgenesen oder Textstrukturen, sondern versucht eine fremde Welt so zu verstehen, wie sie ein Text im Zusammenspiel mit anderen Texten zu lesen gibt. Schriftauslegung erklärt nicht Texte, sondern entdeckt den fremden Text im Wechselspiel mit Texten und Kontexten" (54). E. Reinmuth schreibt über "Allegorese und Intertextualität: Narrative Abbreviaturen der Adam Geschichte bei Paulus (Röm 1,18-28)" (57-69, literaturtheoretische und -geschichtliche Gesichtspunkte und intertextuelle Beobachtungen zu Röm 1:18-28). Paulus setzt die Adam-Geschichte als anthropologisches Grundmuster voraus. Dabei wird deutlich, "dass der Nachweis des biblischen Prätextes, auf den sich eine narrative Abbeviatur bezieht, keineswegs ausreicht, wenn es darum geht, ihre Bedeutung im neuen Kontext zu erfassen. Entscheidend ist vielmehr, welche Rollen ein biblischer Erzählinhalt in den zeitgenössischen Diskursen spielen kann, welche Fragen, Argumente oder Einsichten mit ihm verbunden werden" (69).

L.A. Huizenga untersucht "Der Jesus des Matthäusevangeliums und der Isaak der antiken jüdischen Enzyklopädie: Akedah-Überlieferungen und das Matthäusevangelium" (71-91, die Akedah in der Enzyklopädie des postbiblischen Judentums und Bedeutung der Bindung Isaaks für die mt Christologie). Huizenga kritisiert zurecht, dass "neutestamentliche Wissenschaftler oft die antike jüdische Enzyklopädie durch den modernen atl. Kanon ersetzen" (90) und schließt: "Angesichts der Art und Weise der Akedah-Überlieferungen im 1. Jh. und der vielen wörtlichen und nicht-wörtlichen Anspielungen auf Jesus als Isaak würde ich behaupten, dass der Isaak der jüdischen Legenden und nicht der angebliche biblische Knecht [des Herrn] das bedeutendere Vorbild für die mt Christologie und Soteriologie in Bezug auf die Produktion des MtEv ist" (90). F. Wilk untersucht "Paulus als Nutzer, Interpret und Leser des Jesajabuches" (93-116). Nach methodischen Klärungen gibt Wilk einen Überblick über die paulinische

Verwendung des Jesaja und die Genese und Entwicklung des paulinischen Jesajaverständnisses. Wilk argumentiert für die Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit, die "Beziehungen zwischen den paulinischen Briefen und dem Jesajabuch... diachron zu analysieren, um die Autorperspektive zu rekonstruieren und damit die Briefe des Paulus in ihrem Verhältnis zur Schrift geschichtlich zu verstehen.... Der Befund bei Paulus aber macht deutlich, dass man das Verhältnis der beiden Testamente der christlichen Bibel nicht ausschließlich im Sinne eines Intertextualitätskonzeptes untersuchen und beschreiben sollte" (116).

R.B. Hays widmet sich der "Befreiung Israels im lukanischen Doppelwerk: Intertextuelle Erzählung als kulturkritische Praxis" (117-136, die Befreiung Israels in der 1. Kindheitsgeschichte, Jesus als Vermittler der Befreiung als der vom Geist gesalbte Knecht, als der "Kommende", als Kyrios und als Ausleger der Schrift, ferner Überlegungen zur Kirche als kulturkritischer Gemeinschaft der von Jesus Befreiten innerhalb des Judentums und des römischen Reichs). M. Grohmann beleuchtet "Psalm 113 und das Lied der Hanna (1 Sam 2,1-10)—Paradebeispiele für eine intertextuelle Lektüre?" (137-156, jüdische Hermeneutik, rezeptionsorientierte Intertextualität, Vergleich und intertextuelle Bezüge beider Texte im masoretischen Text und in der LXX, Ausblick auf die jüdische und christliche Rezeptionsgeschichte). Zur jüdischen Hermeneutik beobachtet Grohmann: "Jüdische Bibelauslegung praktiziert von Anfang an Intertextualität, auch wenn sie nicht explizit so benannt wird. Sie lebt davon, Stellen aus dem Tanach miteinander, mit anderen Auslegungen und mit dem eigenen Kontext der Interpretationsgemeinschaft zu verknüpfen" (138).

Der *zweite Teil* bietet "Intertextuelle Lektüren jenseits der kanonischen Grenzen": G. Aichele, "Kanon als Intertext: Einschränkung oder Befreiung?" (159-178); P. von Möllendorff, "Christliche Apokalypsen und ihr mimetisches Potential in der paganen Bildungskultur: Ein Beitrag zu Luki-ans Wahren Geschichten" (179-194); T.A. Schmitz, "Nonnos und seine Tradition" (195-216); M. Orosz, "Literarische Bibellektüre(n): Aspekte einer semiotischen Intertextualitätskonzeption und intertextueller Textanalyse" (217-36); H.-G. Heimbrock, "Bibellektüre im Kontext 'dichter Beschreibung': Überlegungen eines Praktischen Theologen zu einem phänomenologischen Begriff von Kontextualität" (237-253).

Der Anhang bietet ein ausgewähltes Literaturverzeichnis zur Intertextualität zusammengestellt von M. Schneider (257-264), Stellenregister und Verzeichnis der Autoren. Die Beiträge zeigen die Chancen und Grenzen verschiedener intertextueller Zugänge zur Bibel und anderen Texten.

Ferner thematisieren einige Beiträge das Verhältnis zu anderen methodischen Zugängen und die Wichtigkeit der Intertextualität als "Produktion von Bedeutung" (23) für die biblische Hermeneutik. Die Bedeutung des biblischen Kanons sowie die Bezogenheit beider Testamente aufeinander für eine theologisch motivierte Exegese klingt mehrfach an ("Dass diese Pluralität aber nicht den Eindruck eines unzusammenhängenden Nebeneinanders der biblischen Schriften erweckt, verdankt sich einer narrativen Kohärenz, eines Erzählzusammenhanges, der Gottes schöpferisches, erwählendes, befreiendes, gerechtes, liebendes und erlösendes Handeln vom Anfang bis zum Ende der Welt umgreift", vii; vgl. auch 11-13, 137-140), wird aber nicht eigens thematisiert. Hier besteht noch Klärungsbedarf.

Christoph Stenschke

Book Notes

1. H.-D. Betz, D.S. Browning, B. Jankowski, E. Jünel (eds.), *Religion Past and Present* 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). ciii + 719 pp. ISBN 900413980X. €249. Brill is to be congratulated for making available in English a major resource, previously accessible only to German readers (*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*⁶). The scope of *Religion Past and Present* is therefore familiar, and needs no introduction here; it concerns itself with all aspects of (essentially) the Christian religion, its texts, movements, prominent ecclesiastical and scholarly figures, throughout its two thousand year history. Other religions, ancient and modern, also figure. The ecumenical input is welcome, as is its now broad range. An international team of contributors has been recruited, although the greatest number is German. Bibliographies take English language publications into account. The intention is that the ten volumes will appear at a rate of two a year, with the final volume, the index, being published in 2010. The subject-area editor for entries on the New Testament is Hans-Josef Klauck. The first volume takes us from a cappella through to Bhutan via significant entries on, among others, Africa, Apocalypticism, Art and Religion, Asia and Baptism. There are occasional maps, photographs and diagrams, and one (!) colour plate.

2. H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Antiquity 8: Lyd-Mine* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). lv + 943 pp. ISBN 9004122710. €219, and *id.*, *ibid.* 9: *Mini-Obe* lvi + 941 pp. ISBN 9004122591. €219. In addition to Classical themes, articles of primary concern to readers of this journal in the latest two volumes include Mani, Mesopotamia, Magic and Magi, Maria, Macedonia, Myth, Minuscule, New Testament apocrypha. Previous volumes have been noticed in "Book Notes": the good English and clear presentations of the issues in succinct and balanced entries are features of this highly commendable series.

3. Robert Jewett, *Romans; A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007). lxx + 1140 pp. ISBN 0800660846. \$90 (= *Hermeneia*). This superlative series of commentaries now has yet another magnificent volume to add. Jewett has written an exhaustive and readable commentary on Romans. His prodigious reading is most impressive. His text-critical decisions are well founded and carefully argued: he differs from the Nestle text some 26 times, and (wisely) deletes its 21 unnecessary brackets. Throughout, Jewett's careful presentation of the issues—theological, archaeological, linguistic, and socio-historical—results in analyses and judgements that make this *the* commentary any reader of Romans in Greek will need to turn to for elucidation and thought-provoking decisions. Jewett places the letter in a context of Paul's impending visit to Spain and his motive in eliciting support from the Roman Empire in that endeavour.

4. Roger L. Omanson, *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006). 1*-38* + 553 pp. ISBN 3438060440. This is a simplification of B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*². Commendable though Metzger's notes are as a first port of call for many students when assessing variants printed in the *apparatus* of the UBS editions, many of us have wondered just how helpful they always are for translators, towards whom the UBS edition was said to be directed. The selection of variants and the witnesses chosen for the *apparatus* of the UBS text itself are further causes for questioning. Roger Omanson, who has practical experience of the translators' needs has now simplified Metzger's *Commentary*, in that most of the Greek carries a translation with it, but he has also expanded the notes. (Not all Greek is translated; see e.g. his entry at Luke 24:47.) Manuscript sigla are not usually referred to, although occasional references to a specific witness are given (e.g. at Acts 2:5; Rom 15: 19). Those variants added by Metzger to his *Commentary* that are not in the *apparatus* to UBS are deleted. The introductory essay to Acts has been considerably abridged. The most significant and helpful additions are headed "Segmentation"; it is under that subtitle that Omanson discusses such matters as punctuation and verse division in many places, e.g. Mark 1: 1-4. Those issues are of course essential for translators, but not only for them—issues of interpretation and exegesis more broadly are dependent on such matters, and Omanson's notes encapsulate the problems any ambiguities raise. At Rom 16:15 the issue over the name Junia is neatly encapsulated but Epp's monograph on this variant should be added to the reference alongside Fitzmyer's *Romans*. A reference to Kelhoffer on the longer ending to Mark may also have been welcome. This book is intended to accompany the 4th revised edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament* 8th printing, 2004. The much-criticised rating letters accompanying each variant ('A'-'D') are maintained, although the wise reader will ignore those, concentrating instead on the presentation of the issues and the committee's resolution of them. In several entries Metzger's notes remain, but it is useful to have this additional tool to hand. Up to now the Nestle text has agreed for the most part with the UBS edition. Soon Nestle²⁸ will appear; there the changes to the Catholic Epistles already found in the *Editio Critica Maior* will be seen in the new text. (Eventually other changes to the running text in *ECM* will become the text in *NA* too.) Thus a new UBS may be needed and, with it, a revision of the accompanying *Commentary* and *Textual Guide*. Until that happens we commend Omanson's recent and very successful attempt to broaden the appeal of Metzger's *Commentary*.

5. Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2006). xv + 368. ISBN 9122021590. (= *CB*: New Testament Series 43). This volume represents an academic thesis. Since its publication the doctorate has been awarded by the University of Lund—and richly deserved it is too. This is a thorough and competent examination of the Greek text of this little epistle. Wasserman is a name we expect to hear more of in the years to come. He has cut his teeth on the 560 mss. containing Jude, all of which he has examined and collated. In the process he has been able to correct or refine information in the *Liste* of manuscripts maintained at Münster and has located a new witness (p. 105; this has since been allocated the number *l* 2435). After the customary literature search, in which he is critical of an

earlier monograph on the text of Jude (by Charles Landon), we have chapters on the two papyri witnesses P⁷² and P⁷⁸ (both those chapters have already been published elsewhere), then comes a section on the literary relationship between Jude and 2 Peter. Wasserman is fortunate to have the *Editio Critica Maior* for Jude. He uses that text and *apparatus* before devoting one hundred pages to a textual commentary on the variants in Jude. Compare that to the eight pages Omanson gives to Jude! Wasserman's commentary should serve generations of exegetes of this epistle. It is a splendid achievement. Also included are sixteen plates with photographs of five mss.: P⁷², P⁷⁸, 0316, 1521, 1799.

6. Andrew E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006). xiv + 191 pp. ISBN 0567042049. £60. (= *Library of New Testament Studies* 315). Thirteen non-canonical fragments are set out here in Greek and English. These are the three Oxyrhynchus fragments of the Gospel of Thomas, three fragments, all possibly from the Gospel of Peter, Egerton 2 supplemented by P.Köln 255, the Fay(y)um fragment, Merton 51, P.Oxy. 210, P.Oxy. 1224, P.Oxy 840 and Berlin 11710. Thus only fragments concerning Jesus' adult life are included. This is a thin volume, over-generously laid out and rather expensive. Potential purchasers must weigh up those facts against the convenience of having these few texts in one place in their original language and in English. There are thirty-one pages containing plates of most but, irritatingly, not all of the pages of the thirteen mss.

7. Alfons Fürst, Therese Fuhrer, Folker Siegert and Peter Walter, *Der apokryphe Briefwechsel zwischen Seneca und Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) x + 215 pp. ISBN 3161491319. €24 (= *SAPERE* 11). This series, given to Greek and Latin literature in late antiquity, concentrates here on the fourteen letters allegedly written by Paul and Seneca to each other. They are a 4th century concoction purporting to prove an apostolic tradition that pitted Christianity against paganism to the former's advantage. The letters, sometimes deemed to occupy a different sequence to the one adopted here, are often included in collections of New Testament apocrypha, due to the alleged Pauline involvement. The Latin of these letters is here accompanied by a German translation. There are an Introduction and critical notes and three allied essays: "Seneca: ein Monotheist?"; "Stoa und Christentum"; "Senecabild und Senecarezeption vom späten Mittelalter bis in die frühe Neuzeit". Particularly helpful are two *addenda* giving us the Latin and (new) translations into German of the relatively unknown Letter of Mordecai to Alexander (!), and the Letter from Annaeus Seneca on pride and idols (a 5th century Christian apologia). This monograph is a useful addition to our knowledge of these secondary apocryphal works.

8. J. Neville Birdsall, *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006) xvii + 288 pp. ISBN 1593330987. \$65 (= *Texts and Studies* 3,3). Shortly before his death Neville Birdsall gathered together twenty-three of his previously published essays in the field of textual criticism, ranging in date from 1958 to 1997. These are reprinted here under several subheadings: "General Studies" (beginning with his characteristically ebullient Inaugural Lecture delivered to the University of Birmingham in 1984); "The Text of Photius"; "Manuscript Studies"; "Exegetical and Textual Studies of Particular Passages" (these are John 10:29; Phlm 9;

Matt 11:26 = Luke 10:21); "Georgian Studies"; "Studies of Other Versions and the Diatessaron". Some of these articles in these sections are well known and accessible, but some have been hidden in relatively obscure places so it is splendid to have this representative collection of one of textual critics' most distinctive voices readily to hand. Birdsall's stocks in trade were his prodigious erudition, his impressively detailed linguistic abilities, his clarity of writing and his integrity in making deductions only when the evidence warranted a decision. Those characteristics are well to the fore here. Silent corrections have been made here to the originals, although a few errata remain (p. 227 l. 12 up col. 1 read Προγράμματα and see p. 231 l. 9; p. 236 l. 18 read "lead us"; p. 240 l. 7 read 687-688). This volume appeared later than volume 4 in the new series of *Texts and Studies* (wrongly titled on a preliminary page!); Gorgias Press is to be congratulated in coping with the many technical difficulties in reproducing these articles. The printed form of proper names in footnotes is inconsistent. References in footnotes to Birdsall's articles elsewhere should indicate when that work also appears in the current volume (e.g. in notes 7, 8, 9 in ch. 1). A complete bibliography of Birdsall's writings is given as an appendix; with one exception, reviews are not included, even though it is often in such places where Birdsall's own learning was also prominently revealed. In that list an indication of the chapter number is given where the article is reproduced in this collection although the numbers have occasionally gone astray: (5) on p. 274 should be (6), (14) on p. 274 is (7), and (21) on p. 273 is (13). On p. 275 l. 17 read recension.

9. Angelico Poppi, *Nuova sinossi dei quattro vangeli I: Testo* (Padua: Messaggero di S. Antonio, 2006). 378 pp. ISBN 8825015887. A full review of Poppi's *Sinossi quadri-forme dei quattro vangeli I: Testo* (now in its 3rd edition) was published in *NovT* 36 (1994) 200-202. That production allowed us to see the parallels to one Gospel alongside each of the other gospels in their own sequences. Now this "new" synopsis is "diacronico", meaning that one follows the story of Jesus as one complete sequence. Inevitably, that has caused Poppi problems where to place certain pericopae, especially where those occur in only one Gospel, and others may come to different conclusions to those of the present editor. But, once again, we have a clear visual presentation of parallels where underlinings in the Greek texts draw attention to identical or similar wording. Each page of Greek has a good and literal Italian translation facing. Both pages have an *apparatus* with Greek witnesses given, as in the earlier *Sinossi*. Inconsistencies between the two *apparatus*, noted in the 1992 *Sinossi*, seem to have been ironed out this time. The readings of certain printed editions now appear in both *apparatus* here. These are (again) the UBS text (= *GNT*) but also, usefully, the texts of Merk, Orchard, Boismard-Lamouille and Huck-Greeven. It is worth being reminded that Greek synopsis texts exist other than Aland's and those have different textual bases. Poppi's text is, as before, primarily a (modestly edited) reproduction of the text of Codex Vaticanus. It is instructive to be able to compare the parallels between the Gospels as those appear in one particular ancient witness. Poppi is all too alert to accusations (by Dungan and others) that edited synopsis texts may be biased in favour of particular solutions to the synoptic problem.

Books Received*

- Adams, Edward, *The Stars Will Fall from Heaven* (London and New York: Continuum) 9780567 089120
- Aguila Chiu, J.E., *et al.*, *Verbo di Dio è vivo* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute) 9788876531651
- Aguila Chiu, J.E., *I Cor 12-14: Literary Structure and Theology* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute) 9788876531668
- Anderson, J., *Paradox in Christian Theology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 978184227 4620
- Anderson, K.L., *'But God Raised Him from the Dead'* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 978184227 3395
- Anderson, Paul, *The Fourth Gospel and the Quest for Jesus* (London and New York: Continuum) 9780567 043948
- Attridge, H. and James C. VanderKam (eds.), *Presidential Voices* (Williston VT: SBL) 158983590
- Bartholomew C. *et al.*, *Canon and Biblical Interpretation* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 9780310234173
- Baumert, Norbert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag) 9783429028930
- Bird, Michael F., *The Saving Righteousness of God* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 978184227 4651
- Bockmuehl, Markus and James Carleton Paget (eds.), *Redemption and Resistance* (London and New York: Continuum) 9780567 030436
- Breytenbach, C., J.C. Thom and J. Punt (eds.), *The New Testament Interpreted* (Leiden: Brill) 9789004 153042
- Bultmann, Rudolf, *Theology of the New Testament* (Waco TX: Baylor) 97819327929351
- Butarbutar, R., *Paul and Conflict Resolution* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 978184227 3159
- Campbell, Joan Cecelia, *Kinship Relationships in the Gospel of John* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association) 9780915170418
- Casey, Maurice, *The Solution to the 'Son of Man' Problem* (London and New York: Continuum) 9780567 030696
- Cohen, Shaye J.D. and Joshua J. Schwarz (eds.), *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: Brill) 9789004153899
- Copan, Victor A., *St Paul As Spiritual Director* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster) 978184227 3678

*) All publications listed were published in 2007.

- Crossley, J.G., *Why Christianity Happened* (Edinburgh: Alban/ Westminster John Knox) 9780664230944
- Das, A. Andrew, *Solving the Romans Debate* (Minneapolis: Augsburg) 9780800638603
- De Boer, Esther, *The Mary Magdalene Cover-Up* (London/ New York: Continuum) 9780567031822
- DeConick April D., *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (Williston VT: SBL) 1589832574
- Eastman, Susan, *Recovering Paul's Mother Tongue: Language and Theology in Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans) 9780802831651
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Ignorance Is Bliss: Attitudinal Aspects of the Judgment according to Works in Matthew 25:31-46

Sigurd Grindheim

Addis Abeba

Abstract

This paper argues that the righteous in Matt 25:31-46 stand out not only by their works of mercy, but also by their attitudes. Comparable descriptions of judgment emphasize the self-confidence of the righteous, based on their own knowledge of their good deeds. In contrast, those acquitted in Matt 25:31-46 are characterized by their ignorance of their own righteousness and their overall inability to help themselves. The passage therefore serves as a fitting conclusion to the teaching on discipleship in the Gospel of Matthew, contrasting the true disciples with the hypocrites (cf. 7:21-23) and bringing together the twin Matthean emphases on the faith of the helpless and the works of the righteous.

Keywords

Matthew 25; judgment; soteriology; Matthew and Paul

The soteriology of Matthew's Gospel continues to puzzle its interpreters.¹ Many studies have concluded that Matthew's soteriology stands at the

¹⁾ Some of the most recent studies include P. Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study on the Structure of Matthew's View of Salvation* (WUNT II/101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); W. Carter, "Evoking Isaiah: Matthean Soteriology and an Intertextual Reading of Isaiah 7-9 and Matthew 1:23 and 4:15-16," *JBL* 119 (2000) 503-520; C.H. Talbert, "Indicative and Imperative in Matthean Soteriology," *Bib* 82 (2001) 515-538; J.A. Barnet, *Not the Righteous but the Sinners: M. M. Bakhtin's Theory of Aesthetics and the Problem of Reader-Character Interaction in Matthew's Gospel* (JSNTSup 246; London: T & T Clark, 2003); R. Deines, *Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias: Mt 5,13-20 als Schlüsseltext der matthäischen Theologie* (WUNT 177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); R. Gundry, "Salvation in Matthew," *The Old is Better* (WUNT 178; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 120-128.

opposite end of the spectrum as compared to the apostle Paul.² Jesus' demands to his disciples, his insistence on a higher righteousness, as well as frequent warnings about judgment according to works are difficult to read as the work of a Paulinist, to say the least. Recent studies have also brought to light an inner tension in Matthew's Gospel. On the one hand stands Jesus' demanding teaching; on the other hand his readiness to show mercy toward helpless petitioners.³

In the following I will focus on the passage that may be seen to stand the furthest removed from the apostle Paul, the judgment scene in Matthew 25:31-46. Read in light of the rhetoric of the whole Gospel, I will argue that this passage brings together Matthew's emphases both on a higher righteousness and on the helplessness of the disciples. I will argue that the two groups in Matt 25:31-46 are distinguished not only by their works, but also by their attitudes, and that their different attitudes explain their different actions. The condemned are surprised at their judgment and question the rationale for it, displaying a defiant, self-confident, and ultimately self-righteous attitude. The vindicated are equally surprised. They do not present any arguments in their own defense. The rationale for their acquittal has to be explained to them by the judge. They stand at the judgment in the same position as all the people who have been the recipients of Jesus' miracles: unable to help themselves. The judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46 thus brings the two aspects of Matthew's soteriology together and shows the connection between the faith of the helpless and the works of the righteous.

Without ignoring the fundamental differences in their understanding of concepts such as righteousness and judgment, I will argue, therefore, that at their core, Pauline and Matthean theology share a basic understanding of the relationship between grace, faith, and works.

My argument for this interpretation of Matthew 25:31-46 is four-fold. First, the attitudinal aspects of Matt 25:31-46 stand out by comparison

² D. Marguerat, *Le jugement dans l'Évangile de Matthieu* (Le monde de la Bible; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981) 215-235; H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983) 193-194; U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Commentary* (CC; trans. W.C. Lins; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) 87. Other studies find Matthew and Paul to be compatible, despite their differences, e.g. R. Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul: A Comparison of Ethical Perspectives* (SNTSMS 48; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); F. Voss, "Der Lohn der guten Tat: Zur theologischen Bestimmung der Beziehung zwischen Matthäus und Paulus," *ZTK* 103 (2006) 319-343.

³ U. Luz, *Studies in Matthew* (trans. R. Selle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 123-124.

with similar judgment scenes in comparable literature. Second, the connections with the Sermon on the Mount show the importance of a right attitude as a presupposition for right action. Third, the judgment scene can be read in light of the imitation of Jesus theme, a theme that Matt 11:28-30 connects with the invitation to come to Jesus as a needy person. Fourth, Matthew repeatedly emphasizes how outward actions are the manifestations of inward attitudes, and in the parable of the workers in the vineyard (20:1-16), the importance of the right attitude is brought out with reference to the eschatological reward. Therefore, a reading of Matt 25:31-46 in the literary context of Matthew's Gospel alerts the reader to the significance of the attitudinal aspects that can be detected in the account. Before concluding my article, I will discuss its implications for the identity of "all the nations" (25:32) and "the least" (25:40, 45).

Matthew 25:31-46 and Comparable Judgment Scenes

The works of kindness that serve as criteria for judgment in Matt 25:35-36 are: feeding the poor, giving drink to the thirsty, receiving the strangers, clothing the naked, assisting the sick, and visiting those in prison. The importance of these works is well attested in Jewish sources (Isa 58:7; Ezek 18:7; Tob 1:17; 4:16; *T. Jac.* 2:23; 4 *Ezra* 2:20; 2 *En.* 9:1; 63:1; *Sib. Or.* 2:89-104; *b. Sabb.* 127a; *b. Sotah* 14a; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Deut 34:6). Only the virtue of visiting those in prison appears to be unique to the Christian tradition.⁴

Matthew's account stands out by revealing that acts of kindness towards the least of his brothers have been acts of kindness towards the Son of Man (25:40). This identification has antecedents in the Hebrew Bible, where God himself identified with the poor and accepted works done to them as if they were done to himself (Prov 19:17).⁵ What is new in Matt 25:40 is that Jesus takes God's place in identifying with the poor.⁶

⁴ W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, vol. 3 (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997) 428.

⁵ George Foot Moore also quotes *Midrash Tannaim* Deuteronomy on Deut 15:9: "My sons, whenever you give food to the poor, I impute it to you as though you gave me food" (*Judaism: In the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of Tannaim*, vol. 2 [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997] 169).

⁶ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 430.

This is not the only surprising twist in Matthew's story, however. In Matthew's judgment scene, the judge is the one who presents the evidence in favor of the acquittal of the righteous. Comparable judgment accounts are well aware that acts of kindness are powerful arguments in the divine judgment, and they describe how decisive they can be. But the works are cited by the human beings themselves, when they are making their case for acquittal.

In the lengthy confession in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the dead person denies wrongdoing on specific counts and goes on to cite good deeds, including to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, and to clothe the naked:

Behold I have come to you without falsehood of mine, without crime of mine, without evil of mine, and there is no one who testifies against me, for I have done nothing against him. I live on truth, I gulp down truth, I have done what men say and with which the gods are pleased. I have propitiated God with what he desires; I have given bread to the hungry; water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and a boat to him who is boatless, I have given god's offerings to the spirits. Save me, protect me, without you making report against me in the Presence, for I am pure of mouth and pure of hands, one to whom is said 'Twice welcome!' by those who see him, because I have heard that great word which the noble dead spoke with the Cat in the House of Him whose mouth gapes (Book of the Dead, spell 125).⁷

The Book of the Dead dates to the second millennium BCE, but that does not mean it is irrelevant as a comparison with Matthew. Evidence from the papyri shows that the profession of innocence found in the Book of the Dead continued to inspire religious practices in the Hellenistic period.⁸

The closest Jewish parallel to Matthew 25:31-46 is found in the *Midrash* on Psalm 118, which is usually dated between the sixth and the ninth century CE. The midrash raises the question of entrance into the presence

⁷ Quoted from *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Revised edition; ed. C. Andrews; trans. R.O. Faulkner; London: British Museum Publications, 1985) 32.

⁸ A priestly oath found in a papyrus from the second-century AD shows clear affinities with the profession of innocence from the Book of the Dead. The papyrus was published by Verne B. Schuman in "A Second-Century Treatise on Egyptian Priests and Temples," *HTR* 53 (1960) 159-170. For the parallels between this writing and the Book of the Dead, see R. Merkelbach, "Ein ägyptischer Priester Eid," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 20-22; L. Koenen, "Die Unschuldsbeteuerungen des Priester Eides und die römische Elegie," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 33-35.

of the Lord, and explains that the gates will be open to the one who has fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, and brought up the fatherless:

Open to me the gates of righteousness (Ps. 118:19). When a man is asked in the world-to-come: 'What was thy work?' and he answers: 'I fed the hungry,' it will be said to him: '*This is the gate of the Lord* (Ps. 118:20). Enter into it, O thou that didst feed the hungry.'

When a man answers: 'I gave drink to the thirsty,' it will be said to him: '*This is the gate of the Lord*. Enter into it, O thou that didst give a drink to the thirsty.'

When a man answers: 'I clothed the naked,' it will be said to him: '*This is the gate of the Lord*. Enter into it, O thou that didst clothe the naked.'

This will also be said to him that brought up the fatherless, and to them that gave alms or performed deeds of lovingkindness.

And David said: I have done all these things. Therefore let all the gates be opened for me. Hence it is said *Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will enter into them, I will give thanks unto the Lord* (Ps. 118:19).⁹

In both of these accounts the human being is presenting the evidence, citing their own good deeds. Compared with this self-confident attitude, Matthew's account is quite different in that the justified have nothing to say for themselves, except to question the rationale for their vindication.¹⁰ The condemned also question the argument of the judge. But the purpose of their inquiry is precisely the opposite. Their condemnation appears to be a surprise to them, and they defiantly express their incomprehension of the rationale.

I have quoted these examples because they are so strikingly similar and yet so strikingly different from Matthew's account. They are, however, far removed in time from Matthew's Gospel and cannot be brought directly to bear on its interpretation. But they do give expression to a theme that is well attested in sources that are closer to Matthew, namely the theme of self-confidence before the divine judgment.

In the *Testament of Zebulon*, the fisherman Zebulon reports how he had always fed the hungry and claims that God rewarded him: "Being compassionate, I gave some of my catch to every stranger. If anyone were a traveler, or sick, or aged, I cooked the fish, prepared it well, and offered to each

⁹ Quoted from *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 2 (Yale Judaica Series 13; trans. W.G. Braude; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) 243.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (2d edition; trans. S.H. Hooke; New York: Scribner's, 1972) 208.

person according to his need, being either convivial or consoling. Therefore the Lord made my catch to be an abundance of fish; for whoever shares with his neighbor receives multifold from the Lord" (*T. Zeb.* 6:4-6).¹¹

The sources from the pre-Christian period that show the strongest interest in the afterlife are the Zoroastrian writings. In this literature we find detailed descriptions of the soul's post-mortem journey. The *Hadokht Nask* of the *Young Avesta*, which is dated to the first half of the first millennium BCE, explains what happens after death. At the end of the third night, the soul of the faithful is met by a "maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world" (2.9).¹² As it turns out, this wonderful being is none other than the personification of the pure conscience of the faithful. *Hadokht Nask* continues: "And she, being his own conscience, answers him: 'O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion, I am thy own conscience!' Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength and freedom from sorrow, in which thou dost appear to me; 'And so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee" (2.11-12).¹³ In other words, the deceased's own knowledge of good works, their own conscience, will determine their fate after death.

¹¹ Many manuscripts of the *Testament of Zebulon* lack almost the whole section from 6:4-8:3. Scholars are divided as to whether the longer or the shorter version is the original. For the originality of the longer version, see H.W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 253-254; R.A. Kugler, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 64. For the shorter version, see J. Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (AGJU 8; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 208; J.H. Ulrichsen, *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Historia Religionum 10; Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1991) 96-97.

¹² All translations from the *Young Avesta* are taken from J. Darmesteter, ed. and trans., L.H. Mills, trans., *The Yasna, Visparad, Afrinagān, Gāhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments* (vol. 3 of *The Zend-Avesta*; The Sacred Books of the East; Oxford: Clarendon, 1895), as rendered on <http://www.avesta.org/fragment/hsbe.htm> (accessed 11/13/2007).

¹³ Similar descriptions are also found in the Pahlavi texts (written down in the 9th century CE but containing older traditions), *Dadistan-i Dinik* 24.1-6 and *Menoy Khrd* 2.114-139.

Self-confident claims before the heavenly judgment are also attested in the mystery religions. In the guide to a heavenly journey that is provided in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy,” the initiates are prepared for their encounter with the Pole Lords, who are responsible for punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous. The initiate is instructed to greet them with these words: “to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day” (*PGM* 4:683-686).¹⁴ Faced with otherworldly judgment, the initiates may cite their piety and confidently expect a positive outcome.¹⁵

A similar attitude is in evidence in an epitaph from Bithynia. Although less detailed, an initiate of the Isis cult announces on his gravestone that he did not go to the dismal Acheron, but to the harbor of the blessed. His reputation among the followers of the cult serves to substantiate his claim.¹⁶

These very diverse accounts of attitudes toward divine judgment after death all differ clearly from Matthew’s judgment scene in their focus on the individual’s own knowledge of his righteousness and good works.

The Sermon on the Mount, Eschatological Judgment, and Reward

Nothing indicates that Matthew’s argument is directed specifically against any of these accounts, but the contrast between self-confident claims before God’s judgment and the helpless attitude of the righteous appears to have been of concern to him. The contrast between the blessed and the condemned is introduced in the Sermon on the Mount, which corresponds in important ways to the eschatological discourse in chapters 24-25 and shares its focus

¹⁴ Translation taken from H.D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 51.

¹⁵ Apuleius puts his professions of innocence in the mouth of the by-standers. Observing his return to human form, they proclaim: “It is doubtless because of the innocence and faithfulness of his past life that he has earned such remarkable patronage from heaven that he was in a matter reborn and immediately engaged to the service of her cult” (*Metamorphoses* 11.16; quoted from Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 2 [LCL 453; trans. J.A. Hanson; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989] 323).

¹⁶ S. Şahin, “Griechische Epigramme aus dem südlichen Propontisgebiet,” in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren: Recueil d’études offert par les auteurs de la série Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain à Maarten J. Vermaseren à l’occasion de son soixantième anniversaire le 7 avril 1978*, vol. 3 (EPRO, eds. M.B. de Boer and T.A. Edridge; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 997-998.

on judgment.¹⁷ The self-confident attitude of the group that is condemned in 25:31-46 is anticipated in 7:21-23, where Jesus refers to the self-confident people who addressed him "Lord, Lord" and were proud of their impressive service.¹⁸ As we have seen, it appears that there was a widespread assumption that everyone needs to present their credentials when facing divine judgment. Matthew seems to be aware of this assumption, but he portrays it in a negative light.

Like the judgment scene in 25:31-46, the conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount stresses that eschatological vindication is the result of right action (7:21-27).¹⁹ Even good works done in Jesus' name may be insufficient in the final judgment, as they do not necessarily qualify as doing the will of the Father in heaven (7:21). Not merely action, therefore, but right action is imperative.

The right action that is required in the Sermon on the Mount is an expression of the radical love command that Jesus teaches. By fulfilling this command, the disciples show themselves as children of their heavenly Father (5:45, 48). Fulfilling this commandment is only possible with the right attitude, the attitude that is described in the Beatitudes (Matt 5:3-12).²⁰ These *makarisms* anticipate the eschatological judgment which resurfaces in the eschatological discourse in chapters 24-25. Matt 5:3 proleptically predicates the eschatological blessing, possession of the kingdom of heaven, of those who are poor in spirit.²¹ The Matthean version of this *makarism*

¹⁷ Several scholars have argued for a concentric structure of the Gospel of Matthew. See C.H. Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," *CBQ* 23 (1961) 427; D.W. Gooding, "Structure littéraire de Matthieu, XIII, 53 à XVIII, 35," *RB* 85 (1978) 235; H.J.B. Combrink, "The Structure of the Gospel of Matthew as a Narrative," *TynBul* 34 (1983) 71. As these proposals are somewhat subjective, they have not commanded the assent of all scholars. The correspondence between the first and last of Matthew's discourses, however, is widely accepted. See G.N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992) 324.

¹⁸ F. Hahn, "Die eschatologische Rede Matthäus 24 und 25," *Studien zum Neuen Testament I: Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien* (WUNT 191; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 490.

¹⁹ Luomanen, *Entering*, 97. Willi Marxsen quotes Matt 7:21 as evidence that a correct Christology is insufficient to ensure right action (*New Testament Foundations for Christian Ethics* [trans. O.C. Dean, Jr.; Philadelphia, 1993] 239).

²⁰ Voss observes that the intention behind law observance, not only law observance itself, is critical to Matthew ("Der Lohn der guten Tat," 336).

²¹ H.D. Betz, "The Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-12): Observations on Their Literary Form and Theological Significance," *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount*

interprets poverty as a spiritual attitude (cf. Luke 6:20). It refers to those who recognize their status as beggars before God.²² Consequently, their attitude is characterized by humility.²³ (Cf. also 18:2-3 where entrance to the

(trans. L. L. Welborn; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 24, 26; J.D. Kingsbury, "The Place, Structure, and Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount Within Matthew," *Int* 41 (1987) 138; D.C. Allison, Jr., *The Sermon on the Mount: Inspiring the Moral Imagination* (Companions to the New Testament; New York: Crossroad, 1999) 42.

²² Cf. M. Gourgues, "Sur l'articulation des béatitudes matthéennes (Mt 5:3-12): Une proposition," *NTS* 44 (1998) 346. The Greek *πτωχός* is a strong word for poverty. It refers to those who need to beg to make a living, as distinguished from those with limited means, the *πένης*, who have to work (F. Hauck in F. Hauck and E. Bammel, "*πτωχός* κτλ.," *TDNT* 6:886).

²³ G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (trans. P. Scott, eds. G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H.J. Held; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 123-124; J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, vol. 3 (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1973) 465; R.A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (Waco: Word, 1982) 75; P. Stuhlmacher, "Jesu vollkommenes Gesetz der Freiheit: Zum Verständnis der Bergpredigt," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 289; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 233; J. Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, vol. 1 (HTKNT I/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1986) 121; Kingsbury, "Sermon on the Mount," 137-138; W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, vol. 1 (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988) 444; Gourgues, "Béatitudes," 343-6. Dan Otto Via Jr. observes that the blessed in the first four *makarisms* are those who are aware of their emptiness and thus in the process of being filled (*Self-Deception and Wholeness in Paul and Matthew* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990] 127).

In the history of interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, a minority interpretation has been to identify the poor in spirit with those who are internally detached from material possessions. Jan Lambrecht is a recent advocate of this view (*The Sermon on the Mount* [Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1985] 64-65). The poverty of Matt 5:3 is, however, contrasted with the attitude of those who are self-confident before the eschatological judgment (7:22; cf. below). A religious interpretation is therefore required.

Mark Allan Powell insists that the first four Beatitudes do not describe any attitudes of the blessed, only their unfortunate circumstances. His point is that the Beatitudes do not promise a reward for humility ("Matthew's Beatitudes: Reversals and Rewards of the Kingdom," *CBQ* 58 [1996] 460-479). One gets the impression that the target of Powell's polemic is the modern notion of humility as a moral quality: the pleasant attitude of modesty and absence of cockiness. Powell's antithesis between attitude and circumstance also seems forced. The blessed ones in the Beatitudes are those in undesirable circumstances, and who therefore direct their hope to God, not to themselves. In the context of Matthew's Gospel, the characteristics of the blessed ones include their attitude, as the contrast with the self-confident attitude of the hypocrites shows. It is also unwarranted when Powell refuses to see the Beatitudes as a description of Jesus' disciples, referring to the shift from the third person to the second person in 5:11 and to the fact that Matthew's Jesus declares that some of God's blessings befall the world in general and are not restricted to disciples (5:45). But the blessings in 5:45 do not include entrance into the kingdom, and the shift from third to

eschatological kingdom is conditioned on becoming humble like a child.) The attitude of the blessed ones is further unpacked in the following *makarisms*. They mourn, realizing the state of imperfection in which they find themselves. Eschatological blessing is also predicated of the meek, those whose humble attitude is demonstrated in their lives as kindness.²⁴ Moreover, the blessed ones hunger and thirst for righteousness, pursuing a manifestation of the ethical standard that is required to enter the kingdom of heaven (5:20). Matthew's *makarisms* thus move from describing the fundamental spiritual orientation of the blessed ones to describing how this orientation comes to expression in attitude and action.²⁵

Those condemned in 25:41-46 and those in 7:21-23 both stand as the negative counterpart to the blessed one in 5:3. Those condemned are not beggars before God and the final judgment. They come with a claim and question the basis for the charges brought against them.²⁶ On the other hand, those acquitted in 25:34-40 come empty-handed, without a prepared defense, and their justification catches them by surprise. The good

second person in 5:11 does not merit such a conclusion. Whatever the tradition history of Matthew's Beatitudes, in the context of his Gospel, 5:11 is an elaboration on 5:10 (Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount*, 107-108; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 242; Gnlika, *Matthäusevangelium*, vol. 1, 116; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 1, 460-461; H.D. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: Including the Sermon on the Plain [Matthew 5:3-7:27 and Luke 6:20-49]* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1995] 147).

²⁴ Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount*, 82; G. Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount: An Exegetical Commentary* (Edinburgh, 1988) 36; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 236; H.B. Green, *Matthew, Poet of the Beatitudes* (JSNTSup 203; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 185.

²⁵ Betz ignores the theological orientation of the poverty in Matt 5:3, but observes that the attitude described is the starting point for ethics (*Sermon on the Mount*, 115). Kingsbury also stresses how the mind-set described in the *makarisms* is fundamental to the behavior described in the rest of the Sermon on the Mount ("Sermon on the Mount," 138).

Realizing one's own neediness is of fundamental significance for Matthew's soteriology. Cf. Barnet, who argues that Matthew intends for his audience to identify with the Pharisees, lacking integrity and wholehearted commitment to Jesus and his commandments. Thereby, the audience can realize their need and emulate the model characters in the Gospel, the Gentiles, who demonstrate faith, necessitated by their utter helplessness (*Not the Righteous*). Cf. also Barth, who points out that the helpless child (18:3-4, 6) serves as the paradigm for the disciple in Matthew ("Matthew's Understanding of the Law," 121-124).

Emphasizing the Beatitudes' character of gift, Allison maintains that the remainder of the Sermon on the Mount describes the difficult task grace enables the hearers to do (*The Sermon on the Mount*, 30-31).

²⁶ Via observes that the false prophets (7:21-22) and those on the left (25:41-44) both think they are in the right (*Self-Deception*, 95).

works that they evidently had done were not done with one eye on the eschatological judgment.²⁷ Rather, they had acted in accordance with the commandment in Matt 6:3-4: "When you do your work of mercy, do not let your left hand know what the right hand does, so that your work of mercy may be in secret, so that your Father who sees in secret may compensate you." Those on the right side have not done their works of kindness to be seen by others, not even to be seen and remembered by themselves.²⁸ They walk confidently with their Lord and do not keep a record of good works, trusting that no such record is necessary, as they put their faith in the Lord.²⁹

Since the condemned manifest such a self-asserting attitude, it is no surprise that the works they cherish are works of power and authority (7:22-23). Jesus explains in Matthew's Gospel that the nature of discipleship is the exact opposite of authority. Disciples are called to serve, and the first among them shall be the least (20:26-27; 23:11). The works that are commanded in the Sermon on the Mount are acts of love without regard for personal gain or comfort, even to the point of being self-degrading. This love turns the other cheek to the assailant, cooperates when plundered in court, and goes two miles when forced to go one (5:39-41).

Imitation of Jesus

The blessed person of the Beatitudes demonstrates the virtues that are perfectly exemplified by Jesus himself. In Matthew's context, his last *makarisms* follow as a natural conclusion, therefore. Those who are praised are those who are so conformed to the model of their master that they are persecuted for his sake. Matthew's Beatitudes thus introduce the important imitation

²⁷ François Vouga argues that inheritance of the kingdom in Matt 25:34 is not described as a reward, but as a result of the gracious blessing of the Father ("Gratuité et poétique du jugement dans l'évangile de Matthieu [Mt 25,31-46]," in *Analyse narrative et Bible: Deuxième Colloque international d'analyse narrative des textes de la Bible, Louvain-la-Neuve, avril 2004* [BETL 191; ed. C. Focant, Wénin; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005] 276-277).

²⁸ Cf. J.M. Court, "Right and Left: The Implications for Matthew 25:31-45," *NTS* 31 (1985) 230; H. Kvalbein, *Matteusevangeliet*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Luther, 1998) 229. The sheep's ignorance is thus a reflection of their pure heart, in accordance with the Matthean ideal (see below). Contra Via, who finds the sheep's ignorance to be evidence of their deficiency (*Self-Deception*, 91).

²⁹ Cf. H.D. Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt 11:28-30)," *JBL* 86 (1967) 24.

theme.³⁰ As Jesus is the light of those who live in darkness (4:15-16), so are the disciples the light of the world (5:14). As Jesus was persecuted, so will the disciples be (10:24-25). As Jesus died on the cross, so must the disciples deny their own self, take up their cross, and follow him (16:24). As Jesus came to serve (20:28), so must the greatest among the disciples serve the others (20:26-27). As the heavenly Father forgives sins, so must the disciples forgive (6:14-15; 18:21-35). This imitation theme is reflected in the judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46 as well.³¹ In their works of kindness towards the marginalized, those on Jesus' right side mirror the compassion Jesus is known to show to all those who suffer.

In Matt 11:28-30, the disciples are called to learn from Jesus' attitude, as he is meek and humble of heart. Through this description, Jesus stands as an example par excellence of the blessed person described in the *makarism* of Matt 5:5.³² To learn from him, one has to come to him with one's heavy burdens and find rest (11:28). Again, realizing one's need is fundamental to discipleship. Paradoxically, the rest that Jesus provides consists in taking his yoke upon oneself. This yoke most probably refers to Jesus' bringing the perfect law, the law that requires wholehearted love.³³ In the Gospel of Matthew, the gift and the task are intertwined.³⁴ There is an inextricable connection between coming to Jesus as a needy person and adopting Jesus' concern for the needy.

³⁰ Cf. W.D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1964) 98.

³¹ J.P. Heil, "The Double Meaning of the Narrative of Universal Judgment in Matthew 25:31-46," *JSNT* 69 (1998) 7.

³² Cf. Lambrecht, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 66; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 1, 449; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 127. Martin Hengel also notes the Christological reference in Matt 5:3-5 ("Zur matthäischen Bergpredigt und ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund," *Kleine Schriften*, vol 2: *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana* [WUNT 109; M. Hengel; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999] 246).

³³ Davies, *The Setting*, 94.

³⁴ Many scholars conclude that the imperative presupposes the indicative in the Gospel of Matthew (e.g., Davies, *The Setting*, 98-99; Lambrecht, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 56; Talbert, "Indicative and Imperative," 534-538; Luz, *Studies in Matthew*, 136). Deines observes that it is Jesus who fulfills all righteousness and the law and the prophets. Thereby, the disciples are enabled to glorify their heavenly father (*Die Gerechtigkeit*, 180). Mohrlang finds that grace is presupposed throughout Matthew's Gospel, but it remains unstated. Nowhere does Matthew express the dependence of the imperative on the indicative (*Matthew and Paul*, 80). For a recent discussion, see Luomanen, *Entering*.

Luomanen finds the function of Matthew's Jesus primarily to be that of enabling obedience to the law of God (*Entering*, 285). He notes that this obedience is only possible

Purity from the Heart

Accordingly, the Gospel of Matthew frequently expresses the conviction that the righteousness of the disciples is a result of an internal quality, a pure heart.³⁵ In this respect, the disciples are contrasted with the hypocrites, who look nice on the outside, but whose inside is full of the bones of the dead (23:27). To become clean on the outside, it is necessary first to make sure the inside is clean (23:26). This motif also explains the conflict over purity laws. Impurity is not an external matter, but a matter of the heart. A human being can therefore not become unclean by what comes in through the mouth. Only what goes out of the mouth makes a human being unclean (15:11). The reason is that what comes out of the mouth, comes from the heart (15:18-19). A good tree bears good fruit (7:16-20; 12:33-35).³⁶

The fundamental virtue, essential if other virtues are expected to follow, can also be described as generosity. Jesus insists that a healthy eye—a Jewish idiom for generosity (cf. Sir 14:9-10; 31:13)—is the necessary presupposition for the goodness of a human being.³⁷ An evil eye ruins the whole person (6:22-23).

The warning against the evil eye recurs in the parable of the workers in the vineyard (20:1-16). Matthew places this parable immediately after

through following Jesus. He also observes the failure of the rich young man to approach Jesus in the right way, as he acknowledges him as teacher and not as Lord (ibid., 145, 155). Perhaps as a result of focusing on select texts rather than the progression of Matthew's narrative, Luomanen ignores the importance of coming to Jesus as the needy one. Cf. the critique of D.J. Verseput, "Review of Petri Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study on the Structure of Matthew's View of Salvation*," *JBL* 119 (2000) 137.

Marxsen goes so far as to contend that the indicative does not inform Matthew's imperative at all. He focuses exclusively on Jesus' teaching, especially the immediate context of Matt 5:20 (vv. 17-19), and concludes that the greater righteousness is quantitatively greater, consisting of more deeds than the Pharisees' (*Ethics*, 237-239). Marxsen neglects the fundamental significance of the Beatitudes for the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount.

For a one-sided emphasis on the Sermon on the Mount as demand, see H. Windisch, *Der Sinn der Bergpredigt: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der richtigen Exegese* (UNT 16; Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929) 130-132.

³⁵ Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, vol. 3, 271; Green, *Matthew, Poet of the Beatitudes*, 239-240; Talbert, "Indicative and Imperative," 536.

³⁶ Cf. Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul*, 52.

³⁷ D.C. Allison, Jr., "The Eye is the Lamp of the Body (Matthew 6:22-23 = Luke 11:34-36)," *NTS* 33 (1987) 76-77.

Jesus' promise to the disciples that they will receive their reward for the sacrifices they have made in this life (19:28-29). The parable functions as a rejoinder to the question of eschatological reward³⁸ and explains the gracious character of the reward, as the landowner afforded all the workers a full day's pay, even those who only worked for one hour. This principle of compensation makes for a surprise effect in this parable. The parable in *Sifra* to Leviticus 26:9 describes the normal procedure: everyone is compensated according to the amount of work they have done.³⁹ As the concluding warning shows, this unusual compensation principle demonstrates the generosity of the landowner (20:15).⁴⁰

In the parable, those who had worked the whole day are not presented as positive examples.⁴¹ The landowner's generosity caused them to grumble. He therefore asks them the probing question: Is your eye evil because I am good? (20:15b). The disciples' question regarding eschatological reward is thereby answered with a warning: as you look forward to the eschatological reward, be prepared to see it be given to people you feel do not deserve it as well as you. Beware that you do not begrudge them! The implicit exhortation to Matthew's audience is that the eschatological reward must be anticipated with a generous attitude. They must joyfully accept God's generosity and participate in his pleasure in showing his openhandedness to those who do not fully deserve it.⁴²

³⁸) Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 68; A.J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 41; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20* (Hermeneia; trans. W.C. Linss; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 525.

³⁹) It has been suggested that Matthew's parable was a conscious alteration of an original Jewish parable preserved in *Sifra* to Leviticus 26:9. More likely, they both relate to a common master-servant theme in Jewish parables. Cf. A.B. Taylor, "The Master-Servant Type Scene in the Parables of Jesus," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 1989) 295.

⁴⁰) Similarly, Hultgren, *Parables*, 40, 42-43. Luise Schottroff objects, noting how the parable reflects the oppressive economic practices of the Roman empire. The payment of one whole denarius, not enough money to feed a family for a day, would not be a fitting image of the mercy of the heavenly Father (*The Parables of Jesus* [trans. L.M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005] 210-216). These problems disappear when it is acknowledged that the primary purpose of the parable is not to describe God's grace, but to present the attitude of the grumbling workers as a warning example.

⁴¹) Hultgren points out that the address ἐταῖρε is not used with positive connotations in the Gospel of Matthew (cf. 22:12; 26:50) (*Parables*, 39).

⁴²) Davies and Allison take the point of the parable to be that "the promise of reward should not become a ground upon which to stand" (*Matthew*, vol. 3, 68; similarly J. Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, vol. 2 [HTKNT I/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1988] 182; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*,

The parable of the king and the unforgiving slave (18:23-35) makes a similar point. The king shows the servant unlimited mercy in canceling the debt of ten thousand talents. This act of magnanimity makes no impression on the servant, however, and he brutalizes his fellow to make him pay a debt of 100 denarii. Consequently, the king's act of generosity is reversed, and the message is that God's forgiveness will only benefit those who show mercy towards others.

Implications

If the interpretation indicated above is broadly correct, it can now be seen to corroborate the inclusive interpretation of "all the nations" (25:32) and "the least" (25:40, 45). With respect to the scope of judgment, the major question is whether "all the nations" is intended to include the Christian community or not.⁴³ My interpretation has presupposed that

534). Jeremiah thinks the original parable was addressed to the murmurers, the Pharisees, who did not accept the message of good news that Jesus was proclaiming (*Parables*, 38).

⁴³ Some scholars also think that Jews must be excluded when Matthew refers to "all the nations." For an overview of the different views of the scope of judgment, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 422; U. Luz, *Matthew 21-28* (Hermeneia; trans. J.E. Crouch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 267-274. The majority interpretation now seems to be that the judgment here described is universal, befalling all humanity. Although ἔθνη typically refers to those outside the community (6:32; 24:9, 14; 28:19), the contextual arguments in favor of an inclusive judgment weigh more heavily.

Stanton has provided a staunch defense for the interpretation that this judgment befalls non-Christians only. His main argument is that the passage is apocalyptic and should therefore be understood as assurance of the final vindication of its audience (*Studies in Matthew*, 212-230). Although the passage clearly contains apocalyptic elements, it is unwarranted to allow this observation exclusively to determine the function of the passage, overruling all the clear, contextual evidence of a paraenetic function. Moreover, Stanton's attempt at reading the passage in the light of Jewish apocalypics is unsuccessful. The judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46 clearly envisions two options for those assembled: vindication or condemnation. Apocalyptic vindication texts typically hold out only one option for those outside its community: damnation. The texts quoted by Stanton confirm this picture (Joel 3:1-3; 4 *Ezra* 7:37-38; 1 *En.* 62:9-12; 104:3-4). In 2 *Bar.* 72:2-73:1 (which is from late 1st century) some of the nations will be spared, not based on their deeds, but after they have become subject to God's people. Jewish apocalyptic texts therefore do not offer a real parallel to Matt 25:31-46, interpreted as concerning those outside the community. Christian apocalyptic writings are arguably not exclusively intended to comfort the believers, but may also contain warning and exhortations to repent. Cf. R. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 15-16.

this judgment scene reflects differences within the church, between the true disciples and the hypocrites. "All nations" can therefore not be restricted to non-Christians, but must have a universal reference. Literary arguments favor this view. The theme of judgment is central to the Gospel of Matthew, and the function of the judgment theme is almost always paraenetic, to warn of the coming judgment and to inspire right action.⁴⁴ This function is especially clear in the speeches in Matthew, where the disciples are warned of future judgment in 5:21-30; 7:13-14, 21-27; 13:24-30; 36-43, 47-50; 18:8-9, 23-35; 24:51. Reward in the future judgment is also offered as a source of motivation for Jesus' disciples in 16:27; 19:29. Most significantly, those condemned in 25:41-45 are described as belonging to the church. They address the king as "Lord" (25:44), which is a designation that the Gospel of Matthew only reports on the lips of disciples and individuals aspiring to be disciples.⁴⁵

The account of the last judgment functions as a summary of Jesus' message in chs. 24-25, if not the whole section from 16:21. Part of the purpose of this section is to demonstrate to the readers that discipleship means suffering and servanthood (16:24-25; 20:25-28).⁴⁶ In the eschatological discourse, the disciples are exhorted to be ready for the second coming, a coming that entails a judgment where the true will be separated from the false, as forewarned in 7:21-23; 13:24-30; 36-43. In his account of Jesus' conflicts with the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem, Matthew has also emphasized how the final judgment directly affects the church. He is the only evangelist that has included the account of the man without wedding clothes who was ejected from the banquet (22:11-13; cf. Luke 14:16-24).⁴⁷

A universal interpretation of "the least" is strengthened when the passage is read in light of the imitation of Jesus theme. The scholarly discussion regarding this term centers around whether it is limited to Christian missionaries or all Christians or whether it includes all marginalized human

⁴⁴ Marguerat, *Jugement*, 487; Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul*, 48-50.

⁴⁵ Cf. Matt 7:21-22; 8:2, 6, 8, 21, 25; 9:28; 14:28, 30; 15:22, 25, 27; 16:22; 17:4, 15; 18:21; 20:30, 31, 33; 25:11; 25:37; 26:22. I am grateful to Dorothy Jean Weaver for this observation.

⁴⁶ J.D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 78.

⁴⁷ It is difficult, however, to limit the judgment in Matt 25:31-46 to the church. Those assembled are πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (v. 32) and the literary context in chs. 24-25 prepares the audience for a universal reference. Cf. Heil, "Universal Judgment," 5.

beings.⁴⁸ Significantly, the acts of the vindicated ones reflect their imitation of Jesus. Jesus was the light that shone beyond the recognized boundaries of the people of God (4:13-16). He pronounced the disciples to be the light of the world (κόσμος) and called them to let their light shine for human beings in general (5:14-16).

Despite the limitations of Jesus' earthly ministry (10:5; 15:24), he frequently demonstrated that his acts of mercy also intended to break the boundaries between Jew and Gentile (8:10-13; 15:28; cf. 4:15; 12:18-21; 21:43; 24:14; 28:19). Since Matthew understands the disciples to continue Jesus' ministry, it is intrinsically likely that he would understand their acts of mercy as boundary-breaking as well, not limiting them to members of the community.

This is all the more so when it is recalled that Matthew's Jesus extends the love command so that it applies to one's enemies (5:43-48). It is in the context of the love command that the use of the term in 25:40 must be understood. True, this word is frequently used with reference to Christians (12:48-50; 18:15, 21, 35; 23:8; 28:10). But in the Sermon on the Mount, where the term is used in the context of the love command, the scope is most likely wider. It refers to one's duties to other people in general (5:22-24; 7:3-5).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For an overview of interpretations and arguments, see S.W. Gray, *The Least of My Brothers: Matthew 25. 31-46: A History of Interpretation* (SBLDS 114; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 428-429; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 267-274.

The main argument for a restrictive interpretation is the frequent use of ἀδελφός (12:48-50; 18:15, 21, 35; 23:8; 28:10) and μικρός (10:42; 11:11; 18:6, 10, 14) referring to Christians. This last observation is less than compelling, as the superlative ἐλάχιστος is used here.

Heil sees a progression in the narrative in the use of "little" and "least." From identifying the disciples as his true family in 12:49-50, Jesus now includes even the least as his brothers and sisters in 25:40 ("Universal Judgment," 9).

⁴⁹ Similarly, C. Niemand, "Matthäus 25,31-46 universal oder exklusiv? Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Textintention im Spannungsfeld moderner Wertaxiome," in *Patrimonium fidei: Traditionsgeschichtliches Verstehen am Ende? Festschrift für Magnus Löhrer und Pius Ramon Tragan* (Studia Anselmiana 124; eds. M. Perroni and E. Salmann; Rome: Pont Ateneo S Anselmo, 1997) 295. For 5:22-24 as a command regarding love for fellow human beings in general, see W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (THKNT 1; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968) 155-156; E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (trans. D.E. Green; Atlanta: John Knox, 1975) 119; Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 65-66; D.A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33A; Waco: Word, 1993) 116; C.S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 185;

The decisive argument in favor of an inclusive interpretation, however, is the rhetorical function of the judgment scene. In the preceding two parables, the audience of the story is encouraged to identify with the wise bridesmaids (25:1-13) and the wise stewards (25:14-30). In the final judgment scene, the audience is similarly invited to identify with the righteous on the right.⁵⁰ As in the other parables, the implicit exhortation to the church is to be ready for judgment.

The climax of the story is the surprise rationale for judgment: what you did or did not do to one of the least, you did to the Son of Man (25:40, 45). This rationale is phrased as a saying in the second person, directed to those being judged. With such a climax, the story's likely rhetorical effect on the audience is that they hear this second person address as directed to themselves. They have the advantage, however, of hearing this verdict as a forewarning. They are not brought forth to the last judgment yet; they are given a preview of it. The second person address functions as an implicit

Green, *Matthew, Poet of the Beatitudes*, 217. Davies and Allison are undecided as to whether ἀδελφός is intended as a general reference or specifically refers to Christians. They note the references to the Sanhedrin (5:22), the altar (5:23-24), and prison (5:25-26), which do not seem appropriate if the command is intra-communal. The spirit of 5:38-48 would also point beyond a reference to believers. On the other hand, they compare with 1QS 6:24-7:14, where "brother" refers to a member of the community (*Matthew*, vol. 1, 512-513). But the love command in the antitheses clearly extends further than that of the Qumran community, as the sixth antithesis shows: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (5:43-44). The closest parallel to the idea corrected here is found in 1QS 1:9-11 (cf. *ibid.*, 549-550). A comparison with Qumran can therefore not be an argument for a restrictive interpretation of the term ἀδελφός.

Luz takes ἀδελφός to refer to a fellow Christian (*Matthew* 1-7, 288; similarly R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982] 84; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, vol. 1, 154). Betz notes that ἀδελφός may be used both for fellow Christians and fellow Jews, and takes the verses as teaching that love begins with the closest relationships (*Sermon on the Mount*, 219-220; similarly Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount*, 189-190).

⁵⁰ Similarly, U. Wilckens, "Gottes geringste Brüder—zu Mt 25,31-46," in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag* (eds. E.E. Ellis and E. Grasser; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 367-372. So also Heil, who goes on to suggest that when Jesus identifies himself with the least ones, the audience is invited to identify with them as well ("Universal Judgment," 7-11). But in light of the paraenetic function of this whole section, it is better to see the identification of Jesus and the poor as an incentive to action. They are encouraged to see—not themselves—but Jesus in those who suffer.

exhortation: do these acts of kindness to the needy, because what you do to them, you do to the Son of Man.

Conclusion

The judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46 is a fitting conclusion to the teaching on judgment throughout the Gospel of Matthew. Those who are completely dependent on Christ for their salvation will come to him and learn from his mind-set of generosity. Their attitudes and works will correspond. Freely receiving their salvation from the grace of Christ, they are not concerned with justifying themselves.⁵¹ Instead, they are preoccupied with emulating the generosity and boundary-breaking acts of mercy that Jesus has modeled.

The Gospel of Matthew seems to be more concerned with good works in the final judgment than any other writing in the New Testament (with the possible exception of the epistle of James). Good works are not merely works, however.⁵² They spring out of an attitude characterized by dependency and generosity. Jesus' true disciples are dependent as beggars upon his grace, and, from the encounter with that grace, they have learned to emulate his generosity.

The judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46 brings together the characteristics of the true disciples in a rhetorically powerful story. The ones on the right hand side of the Son of Man have imitated Christ in his good works towards the needy, knowing no limits to the exercise of their mercy. The righteous are also blissfully ignorant of their own merits. Their ignorance betrays the attitude that Matthew predicates of the righteous throughout his Gospel. They trust in God and they do not do their good works for the purpose of self-justification. Thus, they are distinguished from the false disciples and the hypocrites, who wear their good works on their sleeve.

⁵¹ Jacques Schlosser observes that possession of the kingdom is the result of inheritance, dependent on the gracious initiative of God (*Le règne de Dieu dans les dits de Jésus*, vol. 2 [EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1980] 576).

⁵² Pace Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 289.

“Simon Son of John, Do You Love Me?” Some Reflections on John 21:15

Ilaria Ramelli

Milan

Abstract

In John 21:15 the much-debated expression ἀγαπᾶς με πλεόν τούτων; ought to be interpreted “Do you love *me* more than you love these things?” i.e. all the rest. This conclusion is strongly supported by compelling arguments concerning grammar (primarily the absence of σύ as a subject and the frequently attested use of πλεόν τούτων in the sense of πλεόν ἢ ταῦτα [accusative]), Johannine, NT and first-century linguistic usage (in John and the NT nominative personal pronouns are *always* expressed whenever emphasis lies on them, even when they are not particularly stressed, and in John the only other occurrence of πλεόν + genitive precisely corresponds to πλεόν ἢ + plural accusative neuter pronoun), context and sense, ancient versions of this passage (Latin, Coptic, and Syriac), and some Patristic interpretations.

Keywords

Agape; Johannine and NT Greek; John 21; martyrdom, Peter; Syriac, Latin, and Coptic versions of the Gospels.

In John 21:15 the RSV and the NRSV translate Jesus’s question to Peter: “Do you love me more than these?”; the KJV and the Webster: “Lovest thou me more than these?”; the God’s Word version: “Do you love me more than the other disciples do?”; the Italian CEI Bible: “Mi ami tu più di costoro?”¹ The Greek is: λέγει τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρῳ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Σίμων Ἰωάννου, ἀγαπᾶς με πλεόν τούτων; λέγει αὐτῷ· ναὶ Κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.

As may be seen e.g. from the critical apparatus of A. Merk’s edition,² the problematic words πλεόν τούτων, which appear only at the end of the first

¹ Other Italian versions are similar—e.g. *Vangelo secondo Giovanni* (ed. P. Rossano; Milano: Rizzoli, 1984) 163: “Mi ami più di questi?”—and so generally are versions in other European languages.

² *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1984); cf. *The Greek New*

of the three questions, are omitted by some Greek minuscule manuscripts.³ And in Peter's answer, immediately following Jesus's first question, the relevant bit is dropped altogether: καὶ Κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε, ποτὶ πλέον τούτων. This construct, πλέον + genitive, is also employed in John 7:31, whereas in John 4:1 we find the alternative, disambiguating form with ἦ.

The main problem with current translations and the most widespread interpretation⁴ is the absence of an emphatic subject in the sentence; for there is no "you" (σὺ) expressed, which makes it strongly implausible that Jesus is contrasting Peter, the subject of the phrase, to the other disciples as the one who loves Jesus more than the others do. Thus, Bernard⁵ proposes the translation: "Lovest thou me more than these things?," and explains: "This interpretation is, indeed, unattractive, but it may possibly be right, and it is free from some difficulties which beset the usual interpretation. At any rate, Peter in his reply takes no notice of πλέον τούτων." Ignace de la Potterie,⁶ who considered John 21 to have been written by the author of

Testament (ed. K. Aland, M. Black, C.M. Martini, B.M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren; 2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1968).

³ 565 (9th-10th century), 1 and 1 (*sic*, both of the 12th cent.), 22 and 27 (12th and 10th cent.), 660 (11th cent.).

⁴ I only mention few relevant studies, apart from those I shall refer to subsequently: B.W. Bacon, "The Motivation of John 21:15-25," *JBL* 50 (1931) 71-80; F. Gils, "Pierre et la foi au Christ ressuscité," *ETL* 38 (1962) 5-43; O. Glombitza, "Petrus, der Freund Jesu," *NT* 6 (1963) 277-85; J.F.X. Sheehan, "Feed My Lambs," *Scripture* 16 (1964) 21-27; S. Agourides, "The Purpose of John 21," *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of K.W. Clark* (ed. B.L. Daniels and M.J. Suggs; Salt Lake City: Utah University, 1967) 127-132; G. Klein, "Die Berufung des Petrus," *ZNW* 58 (1967) 1-44; 24-34; F.J. Moloney, *Glory not Dishonor: Reading John 13-21* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998). Commentaries, in addition to those quoted below: F.M.P. Libermann, *Commentaire de Saint Jean* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958); R.H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary* (ed. C.F. Evans; London: Oxford University, 1963); H. Strathmann, *Il Vangelo secondo Giovanni* (Italian ed. by G.L. Prato; Brescia: Paideia, 1973); M.C. Tenney, *John: The Gospel of Belief* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989); D.A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Leicester/Grand Rapids: Inter-Varsity/Eerdmans, 1991); R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Freiburg: Herder, 1967-94); J. Mateos, J. Barreto, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni* (Assisi: Cittadella, 1995); B. Witherington III, *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: John Knox, 1995); C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003).

⁵ J.H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* (ed. A.H. McNeile; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928; repr. 1953) 704-705; see also E.A. McDowell Jr., "Lovest Thou Me? A Study of John 21:15-17," *RExp* 32 (1935) 422-441.

⁶ I. de la Potterie, *Esegesi cristiana e teologia giovannea* (Torino: LDC, 1997) 70.

the rest of the Gospel,⁷ likewise suggested that we should translate “*Ami me più di queste cose?*” (“Do you love me more than you love these things?”). The emphasis is not on the subject (Peter vs. the other disciples), but on the object, and the comparison is between that object (“me,” Jesus) and other things, all the rest, for in Greek τούτων may well be a neuter (“these things,” the things you see all around, the things of “this world,” which in John is opposed to the other as this κόσμος vs. the αἰών).⁸ Peter should love Jesus more than anything else, so he should even die for him. This is why Jesus predicts his martyrdom soon after.

I shall endeavour to buttress this interpretation with further arguments. Raymond Brown⁹ observes that Luke 5:1-11 supports it, inasmuch as it presents Peter as one who left everything else to follow Jesus. Indeed, I find that this passage provides an excellent parallel to the one under investigation here, both for its meaning and for the use of πάντα in it to indicate all the realities to which Peter prefers Jesus, just as in our Johannine passage a very similar neutral plural, ταῦτα, in my interpretation designates all the realities to which Peter prefers Jesus. Brown also remarks that it would be normal to repeat the verb in this case, but I think that this would be only if John had chosen the πλέον ἢ formula (ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον ἢ [ἀγαπᾷς] ταῦτα / τούτους); with πλέον τούτων it is unnecessary, or rather incorrect, to repeat the verb. Brown also points out that a choice between material things and the risen Jesus would be ridiculous, but it is precisely the choice between Jesus and all the rest in the world, including his own life, that leads Peter to total service and martyrdom. A further point by the same scholar against the traditional reading is illuminating, and strengthens de la Potterie's interpretation: it is inconceivable that in this Gospel Peter should be held up as an example of greater love in comparison to the others, not only because this would suggest a rivalry among the disciples,

⁷ I do not discuss this problem here. A.T.J. Lincoln, *The Gospel According to St John* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) 1, treats John 21 as part of the text, whenever it may have been written, in that “there is no evidence that the Gospel ever circulated without it.” See also H.C. Waetjen, *The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple: A Work in Two Editions* (London: T&T Clark, 2005); A. Leinläupl-Wilke, *Rettendes Wissen im Johannesevangelium: Ein Zugang über die narrativen Rahmenteile* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003); Hooker's and Bauckham's opinions below.

⁸ See e.g. I. Ramelli, “Il concetto di ‘mondo’ nella Bibbia dall'Antico al Nuovo Testamento,” in *Kosmos* (ed. C. Dognini; Alessandria: Orso, 2002) 109-123.

⁹ R.E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 29; 2nd edition; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977) § 72, commentary on v. 15.

opposed by Jesus in Mark 9:34-35 and 10:42-44,¹⁰ but also and above all because in the fourth Gospel pre-eminence in love seems to be the prerogative of the beloved disciple, usually identified with John the evangelist.¹¹ We shall see that, precisely because of this problem, there have been attempts to distinguish pre-eminence in loving and in being loved (but John Chrysostom found that, if Peter were the most loving, he would also be the most beloved).¹² Some scholars feel that the translation “Do you love me more than the others do?” would be possible only in an ironic sense.¹³

Rudolf Bultmann¹⁴ resolved the problem by taking πλέον τούτων as being a mere editorial attempt to include the other disciples in the frame of Jesus’s questions linking vv. 1-13 and 15-17. Richard Bauckham¹⁵ does not address the question directly,¹⁶ but does comment on the scene, and, like several Fathers, underlines the correspondence between Peter’s threefold denial and the threefold pledge of love which Jesus now requires, also

¹⁰ Discussed in A. de Mingo Kaminouchi, *‘But It Is Not So among You’* (JSNTSup 249; London: Clark, 2003) 89: the passage must be read in the “shadow of the cross.”

¹¹ M.-L. Rigato, *Giovanni* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2007) 28, hypothesises that the qualification “the disciple whom Jesus loved” derives from the etymology of John’s name “God has favoured / is benevolent.” See my review in *RBL* 16 Feb 2008: <http://www.bookreviews.org/BookDetail.asp?TitleId=6170>. B.B. Bradford, *Peter in the Gospel of John* (Academia Biblica, 27; Leiden: Brill, 2007), stresses that in the Johannine Gospel Peter and John are not competitors, but colleagues, representing action and faith respectively, and that Peter’s martyrdom, foretold in the Gospel, is for the glorification of God.

¹² *In Jo.* PG 59.192.6: “He who loved Jesus more than these did, clearly was also loved more than these were,” Ὁ δὲ πλέον τούτων ἀγαπῶν, εὐδελον ὅτι καὶ ἡγαπᾶτο.

¹³ M. Marcheselli, *Avete qualcosa da mangiare?* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2006) 146-149: Jesus is recalling not only Peter’s denial, but also his dialogue with Peter in John 13:36-38, where Peter claimed a superiority over the other disciples that in John 21:15-17 he gives up. L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 767-768: “Peter had explicitly professed a devotion to Jesus that exceeded that of the others in the apostolic band (Matt 26:33; Mark 14:29; cf. John 13:37; 15:12-13). It may be that Jesus is asking Peter whether in the light of what had since happened he still thinks that his love for Christ exceeds that of all the others.” U. Wilckens, *Il Vangelo secondo Giovanni* (Brescia: Paideia, 2002) 408-410 understands Jesus’s question as provocative, reminding Peter of his denial and his declared willingness to offer his own life for Jesus, who foretold him his denial (John 13:36-38). Peter should love Jesus more than the others do because he sinned more (cf. Luke 7:47).

¹⁴ R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1959¹⁶) 1.551.

¹⁵ R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006) 395-398. The scholar is for the authenticity of John 21 (362-364).

¹⁶ See also L.D. George, *Reading the Tapestry* (New York: Lang, 2000), for the unity of chapters 20 and 21.

stressing that loving Jesus will mean giving his own life for him. He draws a distinction between Peter's role as a shepherd and that of the beloved disciple as a perceptive witness.¹⁷

While some commentators do not even mention the exegetical option I propose for John 21:15¹⁸ ("Do you love *me* more than you love these things?"), others at least take into account the possibility of rendering Jesus's words in this sense,¹⁹ but often in a rather restricted way, assuming that τούτων simply refers to the fisherman's life,²⁰ whereas I think that it refers to all things, this world in general vs. Jesus.

Two main grammatical and syntactical points, in addition to philological and exegetical attestations which I shall discuss later, strongly buttress my argument. They concern the πλέον τούτων formula and the absence of an expressed σύ in John 21:15.

A methodical analysis of the Greek usage within²¹ and outside the NT demonstrates that the genitive after πλέον can correspond to any case in

¹⁷ For a comparison between discipleship in John 21 and the other gospel endings see M.D. Hooker, *Endings: Invitations to Discipleship* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), who stresses the difference between the Fourth Gospel and the others in this respect too; John 21 may be an editorial addition due to the same author as the rest of the Gospel. The radical character of the discipleship proposed in John and evident from Jesus's requests to Peter and his foretelling of Peter's martyrdom is stressed by W. Howard-Brook, *Becoming Children of God* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994).

¹⁸ E.g. K. Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001) 2.317-319: "Liebst du mich mehr als diese?" = "ob er Jesus mehr liebe, als die anderen Schüler es tun." H. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 787-789: "Hast du mich lieber als diese (anderen)?" = "ob Petrus ihn mehr liebe als die anderen," referring to John 15:13; "auf Jesu komparative Frage, ob er ihn *lieber* als die anderen Jünger habe, geht Petrus gar nicht ein. Er ist wohl schon unterwegs, 'alter' zu werden und zu begreifen, daß sein kindisches Mehr-Lieben-Wollen im Grunde ein weniger war und daß er nicht einfach ist liebzuhaben, weil einer immer lieber haben will."

¹⁹ Morris, *The Gospel*, 767: "Do you love me more than these men love me?," or: "Do you love me more than you love these men?," or: "Do you love me more than you love these things?"

²⁰ Morris, *The Gospel*, 768: "We should take the words to refer to the fishing equipment and all that it stood for. This symbolized an entire way of life. Taken this way, the question challenges Peter as to his whole future. Was this to be spent in the pursuit of fishing and the like? Or did he love Christ more than that?" H.N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel according to John* (Engl. transl. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 664-665 n. 32: "Some scholars have understood τούτων to be neuter: 'more than these things,' which is said to refer to the nets and the fishing business, Peter's old way of life. But... one can hardly accept the notion that in asking this question Jesus was reproaching Peter for having gone fishing again."

²¹ Πλέον in the NT occurs twice in addition to John 21:15, both in the phrase μηδὲν πλέον, once with παρά (Luke 3:13) and the other with πλὴν (Acts 15:28), neither in a

the full form with ἥ, not only the nominative.²² So, e.g. in the 1st century²³ in the *Letter of Aristaeus* 91.3 we have προήγαγον πλέον σταδίων τεσσάρων, corresponding to an accusative (πλέον ἢ στάδια τέσσαρα or σταδίους τεσσάρους); in the early 2nd century πλέον τούτου is used by Ignatius *Ep.* 2.10.1 instead of the full formula with a dative: ἄλλω ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλέον τούτου, where the disambiguating formula would read πλέον ἢ τούτῳ.²⁴ Again in the 2nd century, in Nicomachus,²⁵ ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων corresponds to ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ ταῦτα. Similarly, in a late author such as Tzetzes,²⁶ the syntagm under investigation corresponds to εἰς πλέον ἢ εἰς ταῦτα. In Theodoretus²⁷ the construct corresponds to πλέον ἢ τούτων, in Psellus²⁸ to πλέον ἢ τούτοις. In Asterius, *Hom.* 1.7, too, the genitive corresponds to an accusative (πλέον ἢ τούτους): Δαιμονῶντα καλῶ

construct with the genitive. Μᾶλλον is used much more often, 80 occurrences, among which some present an absolute use (e.g. Matt 6:26; 10:6; 10:28; 25:9; Mark 5:6; 7:36; 9:42; 15:11; Luke 5:15; John 5:18; 19:8; Acts 5:14; 9:22; 22:2; Rom 8:34; 14:13; 1 Cor 5:2; 6:7; 7:21; 9:12), or πολλῶ μᾶλλον (e.g. Matt 6:30; 10:48; Luke 18:39; Rom 5:9, 10, 15, 17; 1 Cor 12:22) or πόσῳ μᾶλλον (Matt 7:11; 10:25; Luke 11:13; 12:24, 28; Rom 11:12, 24); others the construct with ἥ: Matt 18:13 (μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ + dat.) John 3:19 (μᾶλλον ἢ + acc.); 12:43 (*idem*); Acts 4:19 (μᾶλλον ἢ + gen.); 5:29 (μᾶλλον ἢ + dat.); 20:35 (μᾶλλον ἢ + nom.); 27:11: (μᾶλλον ἢ + dat.); 1 Cor 9:15 (μᾶλλον ἢ + nom., with aposiopesis).

²² Many instances of ἐπὶ πλέον are not to be taken into account, when a genitive after it does not depend on πλέον, and ἐπὶ πλέον is adverbial. From my research I have also excluded the cases in which πλέον is an adjective (e.g. τὸ πλέον αὐτῶν μέρος in Strabo 12.7.1 and Dio Chrys. *Or.* 64.16.10) or it functions as a noun, such as in Plato, *Leg.* 848C3: τὸ πλέον τούτων and Josephus, *BI* 4.308: τὸ πλέον αὐτῶν, “most of them.”

²³ In the 1st century AD, both within and outside the NT, there are 220 occurrences of πλέον, about a half of which include a genitive depending on πλέον; there are only sparse instances of πλέον ἥ, used when a verb or an adverb (which have no genitive) depend on ἥ. 84 occurrences of πλέον are in Philo alone: he always employs the genitival construct, almost never that with ἥ (apart from *Spec.* 2.26; 3.109; *Prob.* 54, 77; *Flacc.* 1, 25, 68; *Legat.* 130 and *Fug.* 198. In *Jos.* 25; *Contempl.* 15.2 and *Prob.* 31.3 a verb depends on ἥ).

²⁴ Another pronominal construct with a plural genitive is found, chronologically not far from the NT, in Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.1.27: Καῖσαρ... πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν προύνησε (= πλέον ἢ οἱ Ἰλιεῖς).

²⁵ *Intr. arithm.* 2.17.7, εἰ δὲ τρία διαστήματα ἔχουσιν ἢ ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων πολλαπλασιασθῶσι.

²⁶ *De poematum generibus* 3.179, τὴν παράβασιν εἰς πλέον τούτων φέρει.

²⁷ *Ep.* 100.7 S.: Πιστεύομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν περιωρισμένων ἀκούειν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλῶ πλέον τούτων.

²⁸ *Theol. Op.* 70.201, reporting Origen's view: ἄτοπος γάρ φησιν ὁ δικαστὴς τὴν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἢ πλέον τούτων ἢ ἔλαττον πλημελέησασαν ψυχὴν αἰωνίαις ὑποβάλλειν κακώσεσι.

τὸν ψεύστην καὶ βλάσφημον, καὶ πλέον τούτων τὸν πόρνον. Thus, in our Johannine passage πλέον τούτων may easily correspond to πλέον ἢ τούτους or ταῦτα, certainly not only to πλέον ἢ οὗτοι.

Moreover, when the genitive in πλέον τούτων and in similar pronominal constructs corresponds to an accusative in the disambiguating formula, it mostly corresponds to the neuter, πλέον ἢ ταῦτα. An example of genitive hiding a neutral form is provided, between the late first and early second century, by Plutarch, *Quaest. Plat.* 1008C,²⁹ where πλέον ἐκείνων corresponds to πλέον ἢ ἐκεῖνα, but already in Herodotus we find two examples, in which both occurrences of πλέον τούτων—the same phrase as in John—correspond to πλέον ἢ ταῦτα.³⁰ Even more important, in οὐδὲν πλέον τούτων αἰτήσκει (Basilus Med. *Virg.* 721.9), in the equivalent πλέον ἢ ταῦτα, ταῦτα would be an accusative, just as in our Johannine passage. And the same is the case in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 15.24.18: πλέον τούτων εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἡδύνατο ὁ προφήτης (= πλέον ἢ ταῦτα, acc.); John Chrysostom, *Ad pop. Ant.* PG 49.107.34: Ἐχω τι καὶ πλέον τούτων εἰπεῖν (= πλέον ἢ ταῦτα, acc.); *Exp. in Ps.* PG 55.356.3: Τί πλέον τούτων βούλει; (= πλέον ἢ ταῦτα, acc.) and eighteen other occurrences in John and later authors.³¹ There are in all more than twenty instances recorded in which

²⁹ Τὰ ἡμίφωνα μέσα τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν φωνηέντων, τῷ πλέον ἐκείνων ἡχεῖν ἔλαττον δὲ τούτων.

³⁰ *Hist.* 9.107: Οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο; 9.121.4: κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο. The same correspondence is found in *Achmetis Oneirocriticon* 203.6: εἰ δὲ ἴδη, ὅτι ἕως τῶν δέκα... εἰ δὲ ἴδη, ὅτι πλέον τούτων καὶ ἄμετρα.

³¹ Id., *In Matth.* PG 57.268.60: παρέχειν τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα κτλ. ἵνα τὸ πολλῶ πλέον τούτων μετ' εὐκολίας δέξῃ πάσης; Id., *In Rom.* PG 60.609.16: τὸ πολλῶ πλέον τούτων ἐζήτησεν; Id., *In 2 Cor.* PG 61.387.14: Ἠλάθη, ἐδιώχθη ὁ Χριστός, ἑμαστιγώθη, ἀπέθανεν. Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς πλέον τούτων (πλέον ἐπάθομεν ἢ ταῦτα); Id., *In Jo.* PG 59.210.5: μὴ πλέον τούτων παρασκευάσῃ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκκαῆναι; Hesychius, *Hom. II de s. Maria*, 3.9: Οὐδὲν πλέον τούτων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἰσχύω; Arethas, *Scripta minora Op.* 14.173.27: μὴδὲν πλέον τούτων ἀνευρηκώς; Theodore of Cyzicus, *Ep.* 51.38 (cod. Vindob. phil. gr. 342): πλέον τούτων ἀπαιτούμεν οὐδέν; Acta Monasterii Iviron. *Practicum Joannis Comneni* 231.32: οὐκέτι πλέον τούτων ἐπιζητήσουσιν; Theodorus Studites, *Ep.* 323.15: καὶ πλέον τούτων ἄν τις εἰπών; John Italus, *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 80.13: πλέον τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν; Nicolaus IV Muzalo, *De abdicatione* 890: πλέον τούτων ἔχεις; Michael Phil. *In Eth. Nic. IX-X* 613.6: ἐπέκεινα τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποδιδόναι, εἰ δὲ πεντήκοντα, μὴ πλέον τούτων; Id., *In Eth. Nic. V* 5.25: πλέον τούτων ἐν τούτοις ἔχειν; Acta Monasterii Cutlumusii, *Decisio Matthaei* 35: οὐ πλέον τούτων ἀπαιτεῖν; Acta Monasterii Lembiotissae, *Testam. Maximi Planetiae* 13: πλέον τούτων οὐκ ἐκράτουν (it might correspond either to πλέον ἢ τούτων or to πλέον ἢ ταῦτα); Manuel II Palaeologus, *Dialogi cum Mahometano* 17.215.15: πλέον

πλέον τούτων corresponds to πλέον ἢ ταῦτα, accusative. A lexicon even takes up precisely John 21:15 as an example for the accusative construction of ἀγαπάω, thus suggesting that it considers τούτων there as standing also for an accusative: *Lexicon syntacticum* (e codd. Barocciano 57 + Canonic. gr. 41) A 275.14: ἀγαπῶ τὸ ἀρκῶ· δοτικῇ... ἀγαπῶ τὸ φιλῶ· αἰτιατικῇ· ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων;

In fact, in the whole corpus of Greek literature recorded in the TLG, the πλέον τούτων construct is attested several times in addition to John 21:15, from Herodotus—with the two abovementioned occurrences—to Patristic and Byzantine authors, with a clear prevalence in later texts: remarkably, most of them stand for πλέον ἢ ταῦτα (accusative), exactly as I think it is the case in John 21:15.³² Another substantial group of occurrences of the πλέον τούτων construct appear precisely in quotations of our Johannine passage, from John Chrysostom to Cyril of Alexandria, the *Catena*, and Photius.³³

But the most compelling and decisive case of all is provided by John 7:31, the only other passage in the Johannine Gospel where the πλέον + genitive construct appears: it corresponds to a πλέον ἢ + a neutral plural accusative, exactly as in John 21:15. For in Μὴ πλείονα σημεῖα ποιήσει ὧν οὗτος ἐποίησεν; the expression πλείονα ὧν corresponds to πλείονα ἢ ᾧ (accusative). In the light of this systematic investigation it seems very likely that in John 21:15 πλέον τούτου corresponds to πλέον ἢ ταῦτα.

τούτων Θεὸς εἰργάσατο; Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Hist.* 2.147.17: τὸ δὲ πλάτος τοῦ τείχους πόδας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, τῶν δὲ πύργων καὶ πλέον τούτων; Bessarion, *De sacr. Euch.* 13.8.21: τί πλέον τούτων ἔχει ἐκείνη.

³² I have listed these occurrences in the preceding note. I add the few examples of logical nominative constructs: Athanasius, *Ep. ad Marc.* PG 27.41.40: μηδὲν πλέον τούτων ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὕρισκεσθαι (πλέον ἢ ταῦτα εὕρισκονται); Id., *Vita Syncl.* PG 28.1541.39: πολὺν πλέον τούτων ἀγρυπνεῖν προσήκει τοὺς τὸν ἀληθινὸν θησαυρὸν ἐμπορευομένους (πλέον ἢ οὗτοι ἀγρυπνοῦσι); Libanius, *Decl.* 38.1.6: νῦν δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὴ φεύγοντες τῶν πενομένων τὸν γάμον παραφρονεῖν καὶ πολὺν πλέον τούτων οἱ τὰς καλὰς ἀγόμενοι γυνοῖκας; Alexander Med. *Therapeutica* 2. 347.12: τὸ διὰ σπερμάτων καὶ τὸ διὰ σαμψύχου καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων τὸ Πολυνάρχιον καλούμενον.

³³ Ps. Basil, *Const. asc.* PG 31.1409.8: φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων = John Chrys., *In princ. Act.* PG 51.83.2 = *ibid.* 83.10 = *ibid.* 86.4 = Id., *In Jo.* PG 59.192.6 = *ibid.* 390.39; *ibid.* 396.19: ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων; = *ibid.* 477.49 = *ibid.* 477.58; Id., *In Rom.* PG 60.482.11: φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; = *ibid.* 672.56 = Theodoretus, *Hist. rel. Vit.* 31.10; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Jo.* 3.163.7: ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων; = *Catena in Jo.* 409.11; Theodorus Stud. *Ep.* 512.34: φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; = 501.38; Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 280 Bekker 541b.25: ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων.

I observe further that the absence of an expressed σύ, which makes it extremely difficult to place the emphasis on the subject, plainly contrasts John's grammatical use, where we always find the nominative personal pronoun whenever the stress lies on it as a subject (I found 132 occurrences of ἐγώ, most of which obviously referring to Jesus; 61 of σύ, 18 of ἡμεῖς, 68 of ὑμεῖς); the nominative pronoun is sometimes expressed even when it is not emphasised (e.g. 4:35; 5:20, 33; 7:35; 11:27; 15:3), and in certain cases it is accompanied by αὐτός for further stress (e.g. 3:28). Also in the rest of the New Testament (where e.g. σύ occurs 170 times, ὑμεῖς 236, ἡμεῖς 127) it is evident that, when subject personal pronouns are not expressed, there is absolutely no emphasis on the subject; otherwise they are always expressed, even when no stress lies on the subject,³⁴ and this is especially the case in the Gospel of John. Moreover, in allocutions σύ is practically always expressed. Thus, it is all the more striking that in John 21:15 σύ is *not* expressed: this means that the emphasis here definitely cannot lie on the subject; it must lie on the object, με: this form in the NT is used much more frequently than ἐμέ (293 occurrences vs. 90) and is often employed emphatically instead of ἐμέ;³⁵ remarkably, in John we always find με depending on ἀγαπᾶν,³⁶ even if the emphasis lies on the object, as in 14:15, 21, 23, 24, 28; 15:9, and precisely 21:15. And πλεόν τούτων is a comparison concerning the object of Peter's love.

The ancient versions and the Fathers, too, definitely support the reading I propose. The Vg reads: "Simon Iohannis diligis me plus his? dicit ei etiam Domine tu scis quia amo te." There are no significant variant readings for the VL, but the words *plus his*, probably felt as problematic, are remarkably

³⁴ E.g. Matt 23:13; 26:31; 28:5; Mark 10:28; 14:30, 68; Luke 4:7; 9:44; 18:28; 23:40; Acts 2:8; 4:7; 7:4, 51; 8:24; 10:28, 37; 15:7; 20, 18; 22:8, 27; 14:8; 28:1; 1 John 1:4; 2:24; in the Pauline epistles, instead, the expression of the subject pronoun tends to imply emphasis on the subject. There are also cases in the Gospels in which the subject pronoun has the same function as the "be" copula, in line with the Aramaic and Syriac syntax: e.g. Luke 1:52.

³⁵ E.g. Matt 3:14; 10:33; 15:9; 26:35; Mark 7:6, 7; 8:38; 10:8; 14:8; Luke 1:48; 4:18; 6:46; 9:26; 12:9; 18:9; 22:21; John 14:7; 14:15, 21, 23, 24; 15:16; 20:21; 21:15 (in the Pauline letters there seems to be some more coherence in the choice of ἐμέ for the emphatic form, but here too, as in the rest of the NT, ἐμέ is also the regular form with prepositions). In the NT ἐμέ tends to be preferred when the accusative pronoun precedes the verb or is construed with a preposition (εἰς, κατά, ἐπί, περί, etc., apart from πρός, always construed with με) or καί, μηδέ, ὥς. From this and from the choice of με with πρός and ἐμέ with all other prepositions it is clear that this choice does not depend on emphasis, which often lies on με as well.

³⁶ 10:17; 14:15, 21, 24, 28; 15:9; 17:26; 21:15, 16; ἐμέ is only used in 8:42.

omitted in six mss. among the most ancient.³⁷ The Latin is a faithful translation of the Greek and maintains the ambiguity of the original, but it is highly significant that it does not render “diligis me tu plus quam hi / isti;,” nor “diligis me plus quam hos / istos.” Instead, it omits *tu*, which renders it very difficult to place the emphasis on the subject—all the more in that, in all other cases, the Vg expresses the nominative pronoun whenever it is emphasised, closely following the Greek original and even expressing it more frequently than the Greek does (I found 160 occurrences of *ego*; 64 of *tu*; 19 of *nos*; 107 of *vos*)—, and maintains *his*, which may be either masculine or neuter. Thus, it is perfectly possible to translate the Vg too as follows: “Do you love *me* more than these things?” Likewise, in the answer we do not read: “Tu scis quia *ego* te amo,” but “Tu scis quia amo *te*.” The emphasis is again on the object.

Only one remarkable exception is found in the Latin column of the Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis,³⁸ fol. 181a: “Simon Iohannis diligis me plus quam istos.”³⁹ According to this interpretation, Jesus asks Peter whether he loves him more than he loves the other disciples. From the grammatical point of view, this is possible, and this interpretation too was proposed by some Fathers, and in 1940 by A. Fridrichsen. The difficulty rather lies with the meaning: as Brown noticed,⁴⁰ it is hard to believe that the Johannine writer really proposes the possibility of a choice between the other disciples and the resurrected Jesus.

The Syriac too, like the Latin—apart from the Bezae Codex—, strongly supports the interpretation I propose. The Sinaitic codex (5th century),⁴¹

³⁷ Mss. e (Palatinus, 4th/5th century), a (Vercellensis, 4th century), b (Veronensis, 4th/5th century), c (Colbertinus, 12th century), ff (Corbeiensis, 5th century), r (Usserianus, 6th/7th century).

³⁸ See A. Ammassari, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni nella colonna latina del Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Città del Vaticano: Vaticana, 1997) 120-122. Cf. *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis: Copia esatta del manoscritto onciale greco-latino dei quattro Vangeli e degli Atti degli Apostoli* (ed. Id.; Città del Vaticano: Vaticana, 1997) 375; for documentation and different positions see also I. Ramelli, review article of these volumes in *RSCI* 52 (1998) 171-178.

³⁹ In the corresponding Greek column of the Codex, fol. 180b, the usual, ambiguous form is found: Σίμων ἰωαννου ἀγαπᾷ με πλεον τούτων.

⁴⁰ Brown, *The Gospel*, § 72.

⁴¹ Together with the Cureton codex, of the 5th century but deriving from a model of the 3rd from which the Sinaitic too stemmed, it represents the so-called Vetus Syra of which the Peshitta seems to be a revision closer to the Greek. See e.g. W. Witakowski, “The Origin of the Teaching of the Apostles,” *IV Symposium Syriacum* (OCA 229; Roma: Istituto Orientale, 1987) 161-171: 161 n. 1; S. Brock, “Ancient Bible Versions (Syriac),” *ADB*, 6

like some other Greek and Latin manuscripts mentioned above, omits the problematic words corresponding to “more than these”⁴² and simply reads at v. 15b: ܣܝܡܢ ܒܢ ܝܗܢܢ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ, “Simon son of John, do you love *me*?” It is to be noticed that the pronoun “me” is expressed emphatically, not as a simple attachment to the verb ܐܝܬܝܬ, so as to produce ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢ, but with a preposition of its own, ܕ, as though Jesus were saying: “Is it I whom you love?”⁴³ The same is the case, both in Jesus’s question and in Peter’s answer, in the Peshitta and the Harklean versions, which do have the words corresponding to “more than these.” The Peshitta reads: ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ (‘Simon son of John, is it I whom you love? more than these?’) and the Harklean version has: ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ (*idem*). And in Peter’s answer we find the same stress on the object again, with the prepositional construction and not simply the addition of the pronoun at the end of the verb: ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܝܢ (Peshitta); ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ (Harklean); so we can translate: “I love *you*,” “It is *you* whom I love.”

Both of these versions fully confirm the translation here proposed, in that they stress the object “me” rather than the subject “you”—which in Syriac must always be expressed, whereas in the Greek text it is omitted—and they leave the possibility open to taking the pronoun “these” or “them” (ܐܝܬܝܬ, ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢ) as referring to both things and persons. Thus, they can be rendered: “Do you love *me* more than these things?” So, too, the text of the Sinaitic codex allows us to translate: “Do you love *me*?,” “Is it I whom you love?”

(1992) 794-799, esp. 796; G. Lenzi, “L’antica versione siriana dei Vangeli,” *ASR* 3 (1998) 264-278; Id., “Il contributo della Vetus Syra alla esegesi di Gv 7,37-38,” *CS* 19 (1998) 503-518; J. Joosten, “West Aramaic Elements in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels,” *JBL* 110 (1991) 271-289; Id., *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); J.P. Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations* (CSCO 548, Sbs. 88; Leiden: Peeters, 1994); R. Contini, “Il cristianesimo siriano pre-islamico,” *Roma, la Campania e l’Oriente cristiano antico* (edd. L. Cirillo-G. Rinaldi; Napoli: L’Orientale, 2004) 397-410: 402-403.

⁴² I refer to G.A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels. Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshittā and Harklean Versions* (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1996) 4.361.

⁴³ Moses bar Kepha, in his commentary on this Gospel, quotes John 21:15 with the phrase “more than these,” but does not comment on it at all. Cf. Moses bar Kepha, *Der Johannekommentar* (L. Schlimme; Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1981) 4.389-390; Schlimme renders: “Liebst du mich mehr als diese?”

Furthermore, the Coptic Version (Sahidic),⁴⁴ like the Latin and Syriac translations, clearly supports the interpretation I am suggesting, given that in the question “Do you love me more than these (things)?” it has no pronoun “you” at all, and the emphasis rather lies on the object “me,” which is not simply attached to the verb, but placed in a prepositional construct of its own: *ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲕⲙⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ*. Thus, the meaning is: “Simon son of John, do you love *me* more than these (things)?” In fact, the Coptic pronoun *ⲛⲁⲓ* may refer to both things and persons. Notably, too, both in the other two questions of Jesus and in all three answers of Peter the subject is not at all expressed and the object is emphasized in the very same prepositional construct: *ⲕⲙⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲓ* (twice): “Do you love me?,” “Is it I whom you love?,” and: *ⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ* (thrice), “I love *you*,” “It is you whom I love.”

Thus, the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions fully support the interpretation I suggest. The understanding of the Church Fathers too is worth investigating in this connection.

Early authors rarely allude to this passage, and still less frequently do they mention the difficult phrase “more than these”: either they did not read it in their manuscripts, or they did not attach importance to it, or else they felt uncomfortable with it. In the 2nd century, this is the case of Apollinaris of Hierapolis,⁴⁵ who, in fragment 155 on John 21:15-17, mentions Jesus’s question about Peter’s love, omitting the bit concerning the comparison. He rather stresses that Jesus trusts his flock to Peter but he remains its true shepherd, and emphasizes the correspondence between Jesus’s three questions and Peter’s threefold denial, an exegesis that was destined to become widespread.⁴⁶ Notably, Apollinaris links Jesus’s questions concerning Peter’s love for him to his prediction of Peter’s martyrdom: *Τὴν ἔτι μείζω τῆς ἀγάπης ἀπόδειξιν τὴν διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου φησὶν αὐτὸν ποιήσεσθαι... τὴν μέχρι θανάτου μαρτυρίαν περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν πρότερον διὰ θανάτου φόβον ἄρνησιν γενομένην ἀπαλείψειεν*, “He says he will offer an even greater proof of his love: through his martyrdom... his witness to the Lord rendered through his death will wipe away his denial due to his fear of

⁴⁴ *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1969) 3.328-330.

⁴⁵ I refer to J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (TU 89; Berlin: Akademie, 1966) 3-64.

⁴⁶ Προσέθηκεν δὲ τρίτην περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρώτησιν... τῆς τρίτης γενομένης ἀρνήσεως ἀναμνήσκων, “He asked him three questions concerning the same thing... in order to remind him of his threefold denial.”

death" (fr. 156 on John 21:18-19). Dying as a martyr for Jesus's sake implies that Peter must love Jesus more than all the rest.⁴⁷

In Letter 2.1 included in the Epistolary of Cyprian (first half of the 3rd century), from the Roman to the Carthaginian clergy, there is a quotation from John 21:15-17 with no mention of the *plus his* phrase, which may be due to the problematic nature of this expression, or to its absence in the Biblical text used (we have seen that several Latin manuscripts omit it). The short dialogue is commented on as follows: "This saying arose out of the very circumstance of his withdrawal, and the rest of the disciples did likewise." Significantly, all that is stressed here is just the similarity between Peter and the other disciples, not a difference.

In a fragment on Proverbs from the Catenae (PG 17.184C11) Origen mentions John 21:15-17 in his discussion of the gradations of love, as a proof that ἀγάπη is greater than φιλία. He quotes Jesus's questions, but he too leaves out the puzzling πλέον τούτων expression. And one passage suggests that Origen understood the words ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων as "Do you love *me* more than these things?" meaning "all the rest vs. Christ": in *Co. Ro.* 1.1-12.21, from the Catenae, 28.10, Origen states that, if we have no θεοσέβεια, then πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Θεὸν ἀγαπῶμεν, "we love everything more than we love God," the exact reverse of ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων, "do you love *me* more than you love these things?" with emphasis on the object, strongly confirming my understanding. Origen goes on to say that we ought to love God more than all the rest, because "love has no other proper and principal object but God himself" (ἀγάπην τὴν οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου κυρίως ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνουσιν, 28.12). Jesus died to constitute God's love in us (*ibid.*);⁴⁸ thus, whoever loves God more than all the rest will be ready for martyrdom, like Peter.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ At the beginning of the 3rd century, Hippolytus, *Trad. Apost.* 3 refers to the task entrusted to Peter of feeding the Lord's sheep, but with no mention of Jesus's question on love: B. Botte, *Hippolyte de Rome. La tradition apostolique* (SCH 11bis; 2nd edition; Paris: Cerf, 1968) 44.15-20.

⁴⁸ "While we were still [deprived of θεοσέβεια], Christ died for us; then the love of God was established in us, after the removal, operated by Jesus's death, of all the elements that prevented the constitution of God's love for us" (ὅτε δὲ τοιούτων ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε, τότε συνέστη καὶ ὑπέστη ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπη, πάντων περιαιρεθέντων τῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θανάτῳ ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐμποδιζόντων τῇ συστάσει τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης).

⁴⁹ At the beginning of the 4th century Eusebius, an admirer of Origen's, alludes to the handing over of Jesus's flock to Peter (*Mart.* 12), but he does not even mention Jesus's questions.

In the 4th century Epiphanius, *Panarion* 59.1.6 (2.364.16-18) draws a parallel between Peter's three denials and Jesus's three questions addressed to him, which he loosely quotes: notably, from the first he drops the problematic πλέον τούτων expression.⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 59.8.2 (2.373.14) he mentions John 21:15-17 as a compensation for Peter's denials and an invitation to repentance for all. The correspondence between the threefold denial and the threefold confession is also pointed out by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cath. ad illum.* 14.23 (1138.25), who alludes to John 21:15, but again with no mention of the tricky πλέον τούτων phrase.

Still in the 4th century, Basil, *Reg. mor.* 70.18-19, speaking about what is required to love the Lord, i.e. loving those who are being instructed and caring about them even with willingness to die,⁵¹ quotes John 10:11 and 21:15, including πλεῖον τούτων (*sic*). He comments that loving Christ means loving the others and being ready to suffer martyrdom for him, but nothing is said about loving Jesus more than others do, which suggests that Basil did *not* understand πλεῖον τούτων as "more than these do." To Basil is also ascribed a Commentary on Isaiah where Jesus's prophecy of Peter's martyrdom is mentioned (μαρτύριον μέχρι θανάτου, 3.131), but without reference to Jesus's questions. At 5.169 the author summarizes Jesus's questions into one, without πλέον τούτων. Another Cappadocian, Gregory Nazianzen, in *Or.* 39.18, in the context of a defence of forgiveness, connects Peter's three denials to Jesus's three questions, which are interpreted as a correction of the former, a therapy (ἐθεράπευσεν), and forgiveness; the perfection of this therapy is seen in Peter's martyrdom, here referred to via the mention of his blood: "Don't you forgive Peter even if brought to perfection through his blood?" ("Ἡ οὐδὲ τελειωθέντα δέχη δι' αἵματος;). Gregory does not address the πλέον τούτων problem; however, both he and Basil link Peter's love for Jesus to his martyrdom, a bond essential to the interpretation of πλέον τούτων I propose: only loving Jesus more than all the rest can make a Christian martyr.

⁵⁰ K. Holl, *Epiphanius 1* (GCS 25; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915) 1-149. In *Ancor.* 9.12-13 Epiphanius evokes the risen Jesus's apparition in John 21 and his handing over of his sheep to Peter, but with no mention of his questions.

⁵¹ "Ἰδιον τοῦ ἀγαπῶντος τὸν Κύριον τὸ, ἐν πολλῇ φιλοστοργίᾳ τῇ περὶ τοὺς διδασκομένους, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν παντὶ τρόπῳ, κἂν μέχρι θανάτου δέη, "It is typical of whoever loves the Lord to take care of the disciples with much affection and solicitude, if necessary even to death."

Similarly, Theodore of Mopsuestia,⁵² *Co. Io.* fr. 139 does not mention the puzzling comparison, but insists on Peter's love for Christ, on the correspondence between his three denials and three confessions, and on Jesus's prediction of Peter's martyrdom as a consequence of his steadfastness in his love for Jesus.⁵³ Ambrose alludes to John 21:15 several times, especially in *Luc.* 10.176 (397.1692); in *Fid.* 5.2 he simply mentions the correspondence between Peter's denials and confessions of love, just as in *Spir.* 2.10.105, where Ambrose also relates them to the mystery of the Trinity, and *Spir.* 2.13.146 (144.43), and in Hilarius, *Trin.* 6.37, where, again, there is no mention of comparisons.

John Chrysostom, a fellow disciple of Theodore at the school of Diodore of Tarsus, in his *Homily* 77 on John (PG 59.477-480) quotes our text twice, both times including πλέον τούτων, which he interprets as "more than the other disciples." Thus, this interpretation first appears only around AD 400. John wonders why Peter has such a special role: Peter is "elected among the apostles" (ἔκκριτος τῶν ἀποστόλων) because Jesus wishes to show that he is forgiven for his denial, and thus he gives him a position of pre-eminence, but for martyrdom, not for glory.⁵⁴ Chrysostom, like Basil, Nazianzen, and Theodore, does not forget that the direct consequence of Peter's love for Jesus is martyrdom: Εἰπὼν δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης, προαγορεύει αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον... βουλόμενος καὶ παιδεῦσαι ἡμᾶς, ποίῳ δεῖ τρόπῳ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀγαπᾶν, "After speaking to him about the love for him, he predicts him his martyrdom... also in order to teach us how we should *love him above all*" (which is close to my interpretation).

In the first half of the 5th century, Cyril of Alexandria quotes John 21:15 including πλέον τούτων,⁵⁵ which he likewise interprets as "more than the

⁵² R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1948) 305-419.

⁵³ Μὴ δειλιά περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν πρώτην ἐνθυμούμενος ἄρνησιν. Οὕτω γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι διαμενεῖς στερρός, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μέλλεις σταυροῦσθαι, "Do not fear what will happen, considering your previous denial. For I know that you will remain firm, and that you will even be crucified for my sake."

⁵⁴ Εἰ φιλεῖς με, προϊστάσο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τὴν θερμὴν ἀγάπην ἣν διὰ πάντων ἐπεδείκνυσο... νῦν δεῖξον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἣν ἔλεγες θῆσειν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων ἐπίδος τῶν ἐμῶν, "If you love me, lead your brothers and show now the warm love you have always shown, offering for my sheep your life, which you said you would have given for my sake." Peter, who was entrusted with the whole of humanity by Jesus and will die as a martyr for him, must have a greater love: τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον προανεφώνησε, καὶ ἀγάπην ἐμαρτύρησε πλείονα τῶν ἄλλων.

⁵⁵ P.E. Pusey, *Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium* (Oxford: Clarendon,

other disciples do,” but with less stress on martyrdom. Cyril insists from the beginning on Peter’s pre-eminence, and for this reason he connects the present episode to others indicating such pre-eminence, the confession of faith in Caesarea Philippi and Peter’s defence of Jesus in the Gethsemane. This is why τῶν ἄλλων γοργότερον προσάγει τὴν πεῦσιν, εἰ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τρίτον, “He asked him more vibrantly the question whether he loves him more than they do, and this thrice.” But he also proposes a deeper (τὴν κεκρυμμένην . . . διερευνῆσαι διάνοιαν) and more personal interpretation (οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε): if the three questions are addressed only to Peter, when all of the twelve have already received the apostolic mission, it is because only he had denied Jesus thrice. He has obtained a greater forgiveness than the others: this is why he must love Jesus more than the others (πλείονα τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἄφεσιν κομισάμενος, ἐξαίτεται λέγειν εἰ καὶ πλεῖον ἀγαπᾷ).⁵⁶ The particular address to Peter indicates the renewal of his apostolic mission, implying martyrdom as a perfect proof of love.

Augustine provides an interpretation that strongly supports my understanding. In his homilies on John⁵⁷ 123.4-5, while commenting on the words “diligis me plus his,” he insists much more on the object “me” than on the unexpressed subject, and with no mention of a comparison with the others’ love. Augustine, in accord to his contrast between *amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei* and *amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui*, opposes loving Christ to loving oneself and the other things in the world:

Qui hoc animo pascunt oves Christi ut suas velint esse non Christi, se convincuntur amare, non Christum, vel gloriandi . . . non obediendi et subveniendi et Deo placendi caritate . . . apostolus gemit sua quaerere non quae Iesu Christi. Nam quid est aliud, Diligis me? Pasce oves meas, quam si diceretur, Si me diligis, non te pascere cogita, sed oves meas sicut meas pasce, non sicut tuas; gloriam meam in eis quaere, non tuam; dominium meum, non tuum; lucra mea, non tua, ne sis in eorum societate qui pertinent ad tempora periculosa, seipsos amantes, et caetera quae huic malorum initio connectuntur? Cum enim dixisset apostolus: Erunt enim homines seipsos amantes,

1872; repr. 1965), 1.1-728; 2.1-737; 3.1-171, esp. 3.163-168. On Cyril’s commentary see G. Münch-Labacher, *Naturhaftes und geschichtliches Denken bei Cyrill von Alexandrien* (Bonn: Borengässer, 1996); L.M. Farag, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, a New Testament Exegete* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007).

⁵⁶ Cyril remarks that Jesus remains the chief shepherd who died for the salvation and the life of all, τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ ζωὴν.

⁵⁷ Augustini *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV* (R. Willems; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954; 2nd ed 1990); [Saint Augustin], *Homélies sur l’Évangile de s. Jean, CIV-CXXIV* (par M.-F. Berrouard; Paris: IEAug, 2003).

secutus adiunxit: Amatores pecuniae, elati... Haec omnia mala ab eo velut fonte manant, quod primum posuit: seipsos amantes. Merito dicitur Petro: Diligis *me*? Et respondet: Amo *te*... Non ergo nos, sed ipsum amemus.

Those who have this purpose in feeding the flock of Christ, that they may have them as their own, and not as Christ's, are convicted of *loving themselves, not Christ*, from the desire either of boasting..., not from the love of obeying, serving, and pleasing God... The apostle complains that *they seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's*. For what else mean the words, "Do you love me? Feed my sheep," than if it were said, If you love me, think *not of feeding yourself, but feed my sheep as mine, not as your own*; seek my glory *in them, not your own*; my dominion, *not yours*; my gain, *not yours*; lest you be found in the fellowship of those who belong to the perilous times, *lovers of their own selves*, and all else that is joined on to this beginning of evils? For the apostle, after saying, "For men shall be *lovers of their own selves*," added, "Lovers of money, boastful..." All these evils flow from that as their fountain which he stated first, *lovers of their own selves*. With great propriety, therefore, is Peter addressed, 'Do you love *me*?' and found replying, 'I love *you*'... Let us, then, love not *ourselves*, but *Him*. (§ 5)

This implies that Augustine interpreted the sentence in this way: "Do you love *me* more than you love anything else in the world (including yourself)?" Indeed, he adds: "Quisquis seipsum, non Deum amat, non se amat; et quisquis Deum, non seipsum amat, ipse se amat," "For everyone who loves *himself, not God*, does not love himself; whoever loves *God, not himself*, loves himself." Augustine's understanding of our passage clearly supports its interpretation as "Simon son of John, do you love *me* more than you love these things?"

Thomas Aquinas in his commentary on John (2617-2626)⁵⁸ endorses the interpretation "Do you love me more than these do?," although he realizes that Jesus's questions prepare the prediction of Peter's martyrdom and that both Peter and John have a pre-eminence in love.⁵⁹ He also notices that *plus his* is dropped in Peter's answer because "Peter humiliates himself in front of the other apostles" (2621). A similar remark is found in Bonaventura's commentary on John (21.32; 21.37):⁶⁰ after noting that there was requested of Peter a *maior dilectio* (21.31),⁶¹ he points out that

⁵⁸ Tommaso d'Aquino, *Commento al Vangelo di s. Giovanni* (ed. T. Centi, Roma: Città Nuova, 1990) 425-430.

⁵⁹ He reports that Augustine too links the threefold question to Peter's denials (2617; 2626) and explains the excellence requested of Peter as a necessity for whoever governs: "the more one loves, the greater he is" (2619).

⁶⁰ S. Bonaventurae *Commentarium in Evangelium s. Ioannis* (intr. J.G. Bougerol; Roma: Città nuova, 1991) 2.386-390.

⁶¹ "De dilectione quaerit, quia gregem suum non vult nisi amanti committere; ideo de maiori dilectione, quia *magis amanti* vult committere."

he does not answer that he loves Jesus more, because he cannot know the others' love ("respondit... non quod plus amet, quia amorem aliorum nesciebat"); nevertheless, Jesus did ask him that question, both to show his love and to correct Peter.⁶² Bonaventura also introduces the comparison with Peter's denials (21.36).⁶³

Eckhart⁶⁴ investigates the passage at stake closely and at great length, in his commentary on John, 21.720-737, where he also provides the interpretation I support. He observes (21.726) that "diligis me plus his?" can be understood as: 1) "Do *you* love me more than these do?," because the priest, entrusted with the care of others, must love God more than the others do (21.720); 2) "Do you love *me* more than you love these persons?," which Eckhart connects with Matt 10:37; 19:29; 22:37-39 (21.727); 3) "Do you love *me* more than you love these?," that is, "well, but not yet perfectly," because "in the One there is neither gradation nor order"; thus, "whoever loves God more than the others, loves God well, but not perfectly, since he does not love God in the others nor the others in God. For, if he loved them in this way, he would love one and the same thing" (21.728). Interpretations 2) and 3), with emphasis on the object, resemble that which I propose, with the only difference that Eckhart takes *his* in *plus his* as masculine, but immediately offering a mystical explanation, for he refuses to establish gradations in loving: perfection is beyond gradation. Moreover, Eckhart, like Augustine and Aquinas, notes (21.729) that Peter does not declare that he loves Jesus more than the others do "in order not to place himself before the others" and because he could not know the others' love (Eckhart quotes Prov 16:2 and 1 Cor 2:11). Furthermore, it is God who infuses love in our hearts and is love itself (21.731).⁶⁵

⁶² "Quaerit ut ostendat eius excellentiam in quaerendo et correctionem in respondendo... non audet se aliis praemittere, ut supra ante passionem" (cf. Mark 14:29).

⁶³ "Petro erat cura gregis specialiter committenda inter alios: ideo ab eo specialiter de dilectione quaeritur... eum notabiliter negaverat, et ideo videbatur non esse dignus ut caeteris apostolis praemitteretur."

⁶⁴ Cf. Meister Eckhart, *Commento al Vangelo di Giovanni* (cur. M. Vannini; Roma: Città nuova, 1992) 429-436.

⁶⁵ Eckhart realizes that, if Peter is requested to love Jesus more than the others do, this raises a question in respect to the role of the beloved disciple. Jesus loved Peter more, but loved John more intimately, especially because of his virginal purity. To love more is better, but to be loved more is more blessed. Peter, who loves more, and John, who is loved more, are the respective symbols of the active and contemplative life (21.736-737). I am very grateful to the anonymous readers for their useful suggestions.

Although ancient translations and interpretations do not prove *per se* that a certain exegesis of a NT passage is right, they certainly show that it is possible to understand it in that way and that it actually was understood so. Reflection on the Greek text itself and on the Johannine context strongly supports the interpretation I propose: in John 21:15 the much debated expression ἀγαπᾷς με πλεον τούτων; ought to be interpreted “Do you love *me* more than you love these things?,” i.e. all the rest. Considerations concerning grammar—primarily the absence of an expressed σύ and the frequently attested use of πλεον τούτων in the sense of πλεον ἢ ταῦτα (accusative), above all the only other occurrence of πλεον + genitive in John precisely corresponding to πλεον ἢ + plural accusative neuter pronoun—, Johannine, New-Testament and first-century linguistic usage, context, meaning—especially the connection between love and martyrdom—, ancient Biblical translations into Latin, Coptic, and Syriac, and several Patristic interpretations and significant omissions, all point to this conclusion.

A New Transcription of P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹)

Thomas A. Wayment

Provo, Utah

Abstract

Although not listed in the critical apparatus of Luke 22:41-44 in NA²⁷, P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹) is an important early witness to the omission of these verses. Since the publication of the *editio princeps* in 1957 of this small papyrus fragment, no new editions have appeared. In light of recently completed images, this edition offers several significant new and improved readings, while at the same time confirming that this fragment witnesses the omission of Luke 22:41-44. Based on the new images, it is also apparent that the fragment was subject to subsequent scribal correction in at least two instances.

Keywords

P. Oxy. 2383; P⁶⁹ Luke 22:41-44; Angel and Agony

In Turner's publication of the *editio princeps* of P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹), he restored the ending of line 3 and beginning of line 4 to read καθεύδοντας κοιμώμενους, which is a conflation of Matt 26:43 and Luke 22:45 and not witnessed in any other biblical papyri. Although this singular reading has not received subsequent scholarly attention or comment, Turner restored only a single letter of it with hesitancy. Based on new multi-spectral images of the fragment that were completed in fall 2006, this reading warrants further attention.¹ The images have provided critical evidence that would

¹) For discussions on the importance of this fragment for the biblical text, see Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43-44," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 401-416; C.M. Tuckett, "Luke 22:43-44: The 'Agony' in the Garden and Luke's Gospel," *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (ed. A. Denaux; BETL 161; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 131-144; Claire Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat Like 'Drops of Blood,' (Luke 22:43-44): P⁶⁹ and f¹³," *HTR* 98 (2005) 419-440. For older scholarship, see L. Brun, "Engel und Blutschweiss: Lc 22:43-44," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 265; I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978)

correct this infelicitous reading and offer several examples of scribal emendation of the text as well as extending the brackets in several other lines of both the recto (→) and verso (↓).

Importantly, the fragment is covered in a thin layer of dirt and grime, and portions of the text (lines 4, 9-12) appear abraded and damaged. The damage is not extensive enough to inhibit the identification of the underlying text, although Turner's original reconstruction included several singular and hesitant readings, particularly along the left margin of the recto (→).² The following new transcription of the fragment is based on the recent multi-spectral images and autopsy of the fragment.

→ Recto

εις πειρασμον] κ[α]ι α[υ]τος απεσ
 πασθη απ αυτων ωσ[ε]ι λιθου βολη[ν]
 και θεις τα γονατα προσ]ηυχετο
 και αναστας απο] τη[ς] προσευχης
 5 ελθων προς τους] μαθητας κοι-
 μωμενους απο της λυπης [κ]αι
 ειπεν αυτοις] τι καθευδε-
 τε ανασταντες προ]σσευχεσθε
 ινα μη εισελθητε εις πει]ρασμον
 10 ετι δε αυτου λαλουντος ιδου
 οχλος και ο λεγομενος] Ιουδας
 εις των ιβ προηρχετο] αυτους
 και εγγισας εφίλησ]εν τον Ιην
 Ιουδα φι]λη[ματι

↓ Verso

] αυ[τ]ον ε[φ]η και συ εξ αυτων ει
 ο δε ειπεν [ανε ουκ ειμι και δι
 αστασης ωσ[ε]ι ωρας αλλος ισχυ-
 ριζετο λεγω[ν επ αληθειας και

831-832. For a more detailed discussion on the history of interpretation see Ehrman and Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony, 401-416."

The images were completed by Gene Ware for the Papyrological Imaging Laboratory at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. For information on multi-spectral imaging, see Carl W. Griffin, "Digital Imaging: Looking Toward the Future of Manuscript Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 5/1 (2006) 58-72.

² See Turner's reconstruction of P. Oxy. 2383 from E. Lobel, C.H. Roberts, E.G. Turner, and J.W.B. Barnes, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XXIV* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1957) 2-3. For a discussion of some of the singular readings of P. Oxy. 2383 see Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat," 434.

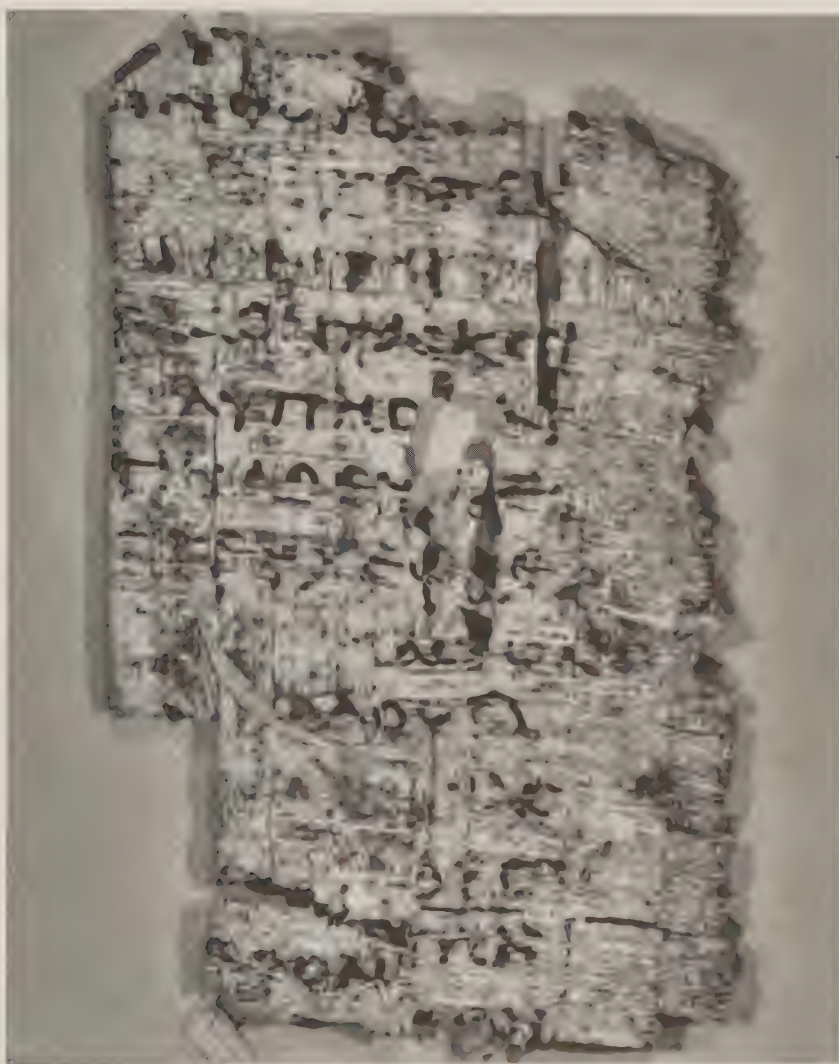


Figure 1. Recto (→) of P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹) shown at 750 nanometers.
Image courtesy of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project, Oxford and the Papyrological Imaging Laboratory at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 2006. All rights reserved.

- 5 οὐτος ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γὰρ Γα-
 λ[ι]λαῖος ἐστ[ι]ν εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος
 ἀ[ν]ε οὐκ οἶδα ὁ λέγεις καὶ ἐτι
 αὐτοῦ λαλοῦ[ντος] παραχρημα
 ἐφώνησεν [ἀ]λεκτωρ καὶ στρα-

- 10 φεις ο Πετρ[ος ενεβλεψεν αυ-
τω τοτε [υπεμνησθη ο Πετρος
του ρημ[ατος του κυ ως ειπεν
αυτω π[ριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι ση-
μ[ερον

Notes on the new readings (→):

Line 1. Comfort and Barrett reconstruct the first line: εις πειρασμ[ον] κ[α]ι αυτος απεσ, with the letters μ and κ visible.³ Only the bottom portion of these two letters remains. Comfort and Barrett's placement of μ is, however, too far to the right of the fragment, and would push the line at least seven letters into the right hand margin.

Line 2. The scribe apparently made a visual copying error here, the remnant of which is still quite visible in the new images. The first complete letter now appears to be λ, but the remnant of α, now easily confused with the right slanting stroke of λ, is still evident. The fifth letter is an η (cf. the η from line 6, the bottom half of which aligns perfectly with the η from line 2). Apparently the scribe mistakenly wrote ἐσπάσθη (only ἄσθη is still visible) and then corrected it to λίθου, which appeared four words later in the text. A remnant of the corruption is still quite visible in the photographs as the right descending line of η intersects with β, which cannot in any way be read as part of the υ to the left of it (see Figure 2).

Line 3. προσήχετο ends Luke 22:41. Following other witnesses that omit Luke 22:43-44, the text resumes again at Luke 22:45 with καὶ ἀναστὰς.⁴ Only the middle line of the initial η remains. The surviving text makes it impossible to discern whether it is actually η or ε, although I have followed Turner's transcription here. There is a small trace of ink between ε and τ, and is almost certainly the remnant of ξ, representing an attempted scribal correction to προσήξατο, the reading of several other important New Testament manuscripts (P⁷⁵, 8, T, Γ, 579.892.1241.

³ Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett eds., *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: New and Complete Transcriptions with Photographs* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House, 2001) 471.

⁴ Turner argues that this occurred through homoeoteleuton when the scribe's eyes jumped from προσήχετο (v. 41) to προσευχῆς. This makes sense only if the two words appeared close together in the exemplar, which Turner then uses to argue as evidence that the exemplar and text omitted Luke 22:43-44. Ehrman and Plunkett conclude differently: "But, in fact, there is nothing in the text, such as homoeoteleuton, which would occasion an error of this kind" ("The Angel and the Agony," 404).

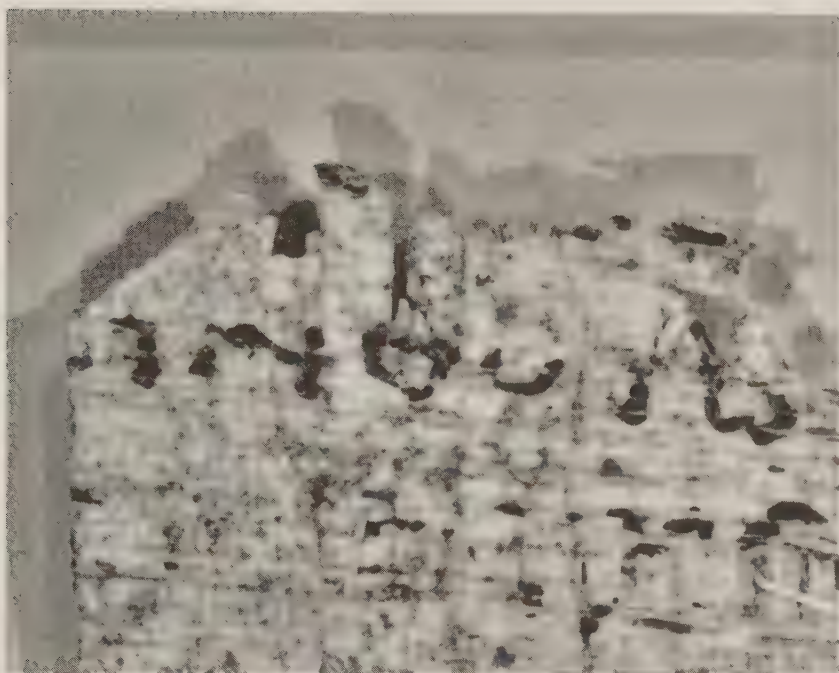


Figure 2. The first visible line of the fragment showing the correction to λίθου.
Image courtesy of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project, Oxford and the Papyrological Imaging Laboratory at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 2006. All rights reserved.

l 844 *pc*).⁵ Unfortunately, this correction appears partially under a small piece of tape used to hold the fragment together and is not easily visible in the color photographs (see Figure 3).

Line 5. Turner read [καθεύ]δοντας (ΛΟΗΤΑς) here instead of μαθητάς (ΔΘΗΤΑς).⁶ The issue relies heavily on whether the first fully visible letter is α or δ. Other surviving examples of these two letters from the fragment clearly indicate that this is α, a reading that is confirmed in the new images.

⁵ Clivaz's contention that this is a third version of the passage would speak against this conjectured reconstruction ("The Angel and the Sweat," 438-440). What may have caused others to miss this important scribal emendation is that it occurs underneath a small piece of tape used to stabilize the fragment.

⁶ There are no examples of verbs of sleeping taking a supplementary participle, which is also a verb of sleeping. For examples of standard NT usage of the supplementary participle, see BDF, §414-416.

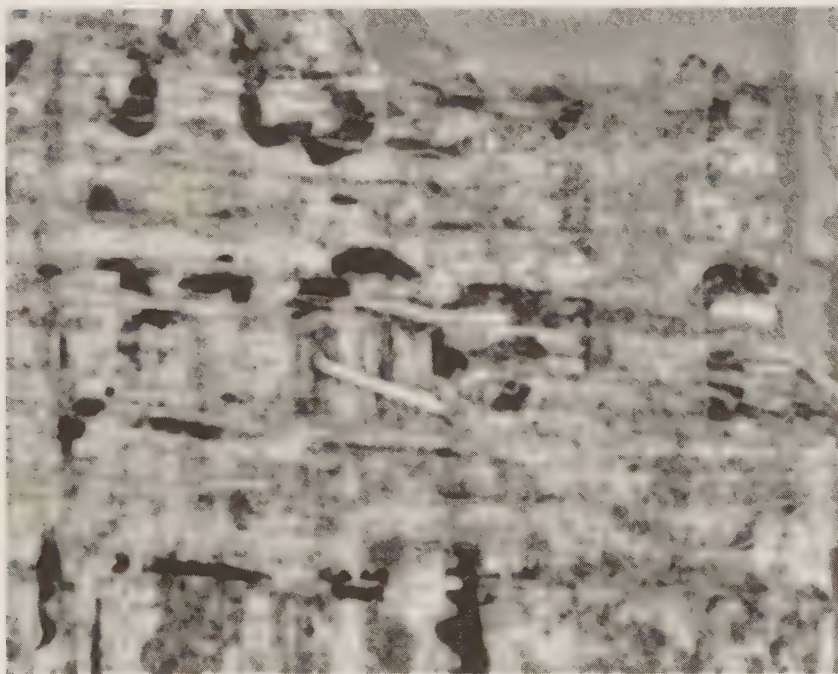


Figure 3. Image showing the faint traces of ξ to the right of χε.

Image courtesy of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project, Oxford and the Papyrological Imaging Laboratory at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 2006. All rights reserved.

The long descending line on the right makes this obvious. The small right slanting serif of μ is also visible in the new multi-spectral images.

One would expect the verb $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$ either in line 5 or 6. The addition of $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$ would create a line of either 27 or 28 letters when the average line length is 23 letters. It is possible that the scribe simply missed copying the word or that its addition created a line longer than the average. Several lines already contain 26 letters.

Line 7. This line is 3 letters shorter than the average line length of the fragment, and it would be problematic if $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$ somehow appeared at the beginning of this line. No known variant reading exists that would explain the shorter line length.

Line 14. This text departs from other New Testament witnesses at line 13 and includes the accusative $\tau\omicron\nu\ \iota\eta\nu$, a singular reading (see A, D, W, Θ , Ψ , $f^{1,13}$, $\mathfrak{M}$, sy^h $\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \iota\eta\varsigma$ instead of $\iota\eta\varsigma$ as in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, $\aleph$, B, L, T (579). 892. 2542 *pc*).

↓

Line 1. αὐτόν instead of αὐτῶν as in Coles. The final ε encourages the restoration of ἔφη καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ. The reading of D sy^c (εἶπεν τὸ αὐτό) would create an unusually short line.

Line 9. There is an indecipherable erasure to the left of this line.

On Becoming the Righteousness of God: Another Look at 2 Cor 5:21*

Morna D. Hooker
Cambridge

Abstract

At the end of 2 Corinthians 5, in which he is defending his style of ministry, Paul appeals three times to the gospel which he proclaims (vv. 14-15, 18-19, 21). These summaries are worded in ways that indicate the implications of the gospel for his ministry. At the same time, however, what is true of Paul should be true of all believers: they, too, should be living for the one who died and was raised for them (v. 15) and passing on the message of reconciliation to others (vv. 18-19). In the final summary, Christians are said to “become the righteousness of God” (v. 21). Käsemann’s understanding of δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ here as a reference to God’s active power of salvation fits the context well: “in Christ”, believers become what he is, and God’s righteousness is manifested through them.

Keywords

interchange; ministry; reconciliation; righteousness; 2 Cor 5:21

Introduction

2 Cor 5:21 is often—discouragingly!—described as “one of the most difficult verses in the New Testament”. Its problems are obvious. Perhaps the most striking feature of the verse is Paul’s extraordinary use of the terms ἁμαρτία and δικαιοσύνη. Why does he use nouns, and what does he mean by them? The statement that Christ was made sin startles us, but the parallel clause, informing us that we have become the righteousness of God, is equally puzzling, for the addition of the word Θεοῦ destroys the

*¹ This paper was originally delivered at a special seminar held in Durham on May 4th 2007 on the occasion of Professor C.K. Barrett’s 90th birthday. It is offered here as a tribute to someone whose scholarship and friendship have meant so much to me over almost 50 years, and whose ministry has—like Paul’s—been modelled on the gospel.

symmetry of the parallel and is certainly unexpected. Even the simple words in the verse cause problems: what does Paul mean by ἡμεῖς? Does Paul meander in his use of “us” in this section between the apostolic (meaning Paul and his co-workers) to the general (meaning “all Christians”) and is he thinking in v. 21 of *all* Christians or of the role of the apostles? Finally, what is the relationship of this verse to the argument as a whole? Why, in the course of a lengthy exposition of his understanding of his ministry, does Paul throw in no less than three summary statements of the gospel, in vv. 14-15, 18-19, and 21? What is their precise relevance to his argument?

Gal 3:13

“Christ was made sin for us.” Attempting to understand the enigmatic statement in 2 Corinthians 5 by turning to another of equal complexity may seem foolish, but 2 Cor 5:21 and Gal 3:13 are so similar that they cry out to be examined together, and one passage may well illuminate the other. As with 2 Cor 5:21, Gal 3:13 is part of a longer argument. This begins back in 2:15, and concerns the way in which both Jews and Gentiles have been brought into a new relationship with God—a relationship which is defined by the verb δικαίωω. The difficulties of translating this verb into English are such that for the purposes of this paper I shall use the Old English “rightwise”, rather than the usual “justify”. Our new relationship with God has come about, Paul argues, not on the basis of the works of the law, but on the basis of πίστις, “faith” or “trust”. We have trusted in Christ in order to be “rightwised” with God through faith, and *not* through the works of the law. A summary of the gospel in v. 20 explains that Christ’s death means that “I” have died (with Christ) to the law, and that Christ now lives within “me”.

To back up his argument, Paul now appeals to experience. The outpouring of God’s Spirit which the Galatians have experienced is proof of their new relationship with God (3:1-5), and this Spirit was received, he reminds them, on the basis of πίστις, not on the basis of the works of the law, which belong to the realm of the flesh. Next come scriptural proofs (3:6-9). First, Paul quotes the case of Abraham, who believed—that is, trusted in—God, and so was counted righteous (Gen. 15:6). Abraham’s descendants are those who—like him—trust in God. The promise made to Abraham was that all nations would be blessed in him: in other words, they would be his children, members of God’s people, and would inherit the land.

The reference to blessing leads into a second scriptural proof. In contrast to those whom Paul describes as being ἐκ πίστεως stand those who are ἐξ ἔργων; just as the blessing belongs to the former, so a curse rests on those who rely on the works of the law, since scripture says "Cursed is everyone who does not persevere in doing everything that is written in the book of the law" (3:10). Absurdly, as it seems to us, Paul uses Deut 27:26 here to support an argument which directly opposes what the verse in its original context clearly states. How can the curse pronounced in Deuteronomy on those who *fail* to persevere in the things written in the law be said to have fallen on those who *observe* the works of the law? The quotation appears to prove what Paul is attempting to deny!

Space precludes an attempt to answer this question, so we must simply note that Paul apparently believes that the quotation makes his case. He then comments that it is evident that no-one is in fact "rightwised" before God ἐν νόμῳ, since (Hab 2:4) "the righteous one lives ἐκ πίστεως". The law, on the other hand, is *not* based on faith, but on the principle of works, since "the one who does these things lives by them" (Lev 18:5). The assertion that "it is evident" is apparently based on the fact that nothing is said in this text from Leviticus about being righteous, whereas Hab 2:4 links righteousness with faith. Why, then, we may reasonably ask, does the law command Israel to "do" and "live by" the commands of the law? The reason will be spelt out later in the chapter, when we discover that the law was an interim measure, a παιδαγωγός "until faith came" (v. 23). For Paul, that means that Hab. 2:4 is understood to be a *promise* of what would happen once faith came. Until that time, all are under the curse of the law, since the law could not bring righteousness, or make alive (v. 21).

From this curse Christ has redeemed us, by himself *becoming* a curse—a fact demonstrated by the quotation of Deut 21:23, which pronounces a curse on everyone whose body is hung on a tree. The purpose, declares Paul, was that, in Christ, the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, and that we might receive the Spirit through faith. How can Christ's scandalous death bring blessing to others? Paul fails to explain, though in the rest of the chapter he tells us that the blessing comes to those who are "in Christ", and that it comes through πίστις. Christ is the seed of Abraham, and so the one to whom the blessing belongs; those who by faith are baptized into him—Greeks as well as Jews, slaves as well as freemen, both male and female—share his status, and so become Abraham's heirs. The blessing promised to Abraham regarding his seed thus comes to those Gentiles who are united with Christ (v. 29), and who share Abraham's faith (v. 7).

A second *ὅτι* clause tells us that the reason why Christ became a curse was that we might receive the promised Spirit of God. Paul has already argued that the Galatians received the Spirit through faith, not by obedience to the works of the law, and he has linked that argument to the example of Abraham by the word *καθώς*, which introduces his quotation of Gen. 15:6 in 3:6. It would seem that the blessing promised to Abraham is understood by Paul to be the gift of the Spirit to those who are “rightwised” by faith. This Spirit is sent to those who are “in Christ Jesus”, and is a sign that they, like him, are “sons of God” (3:26; 4:4-6).

Paul spells out clearly how Christ is the source of blessing, but fails to explain how the curse has been neutralised and transformed. Although he does not specifically refer to the resurrection in 3:13, it clearly underlies his argument, just as it does in 2:19-20, where again it is presumed. It is perhaps not accidental that Galatians begins—unusually—with the declaration that God raised Jesus Christ from the dead (1:1). The resurrection is fundamental to the argument.

Gal 3:13 and 2 Cor 5:21 are both statements of what some of us have described—for lack of a more adequate term—as an “interchange” between Christ and the believer.¹ Christ is identified with our condition, in order that we may be identified with him, and so share in what he is. What Paul understood by this was expressed brilliantly by Irenaeus, in the classic summary: “Christ became what we are, in order that we might become what he is.”² Interestingly, however, neither Gal 3:13 nor 2 Cor 5:21 offers us a statement that is as symmetrical as the one coined by Irenaeus.

In Galatians, the statement that “Christ became... in order that we” is part of a much more complex sentence. First, we are told that “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law” by becoming “a curse” for our sake. Since it is those who base their lives on “works” who are under the curse of the law (v. 10), the “us” here presumably refers to Jewish Christians,³ even though the blessing—as Paul immediately makes clear—extends to Gentiles. Why, however, does Paul describe Christ as “a curse” rather than as “cursed”? This is the more intriguing, since his citation of Deut 21:23 follows the

¹ Cf. M.D. Hooker, “Interchange in Christ”, *JTS* ns 22 (1971) 349-361, reprinted in *From Adam to Christ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 13-25.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer. V. praef.*

³ So Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), *in loc. Contra*, James D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Black Commentary; London: Black/Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), *in loc.*

LXX in using an adjective, meaning “cursed”.⁴ Perhaps it is because Paul has been using the nouns “curse” and “blessing” in his argument, and wants to pick them up.⁵ Perhaps, also, it is because the *Hebrew* of Deut 21:23 states that the malefactor’s body is exposed as a sign that he is “the curse of God”. That, of course, is an ambiguous phrase. Does it mean, as the LXX understands it to mean, “cursed *by* God”, or does it mean “a curse—i.e. an insult—to God”? In an excursus to his commentary, Lightfoot cites Jewish and Christian evidence that the latter view was “the popular Jewish interpretation (shared therefore by Jewish Christians) at all events from the second century of the Christian era”.⁶ Does *Paul* have this sense in mind? Is this why he uses the noun, κατάρα, rather than the adjective? And is this why he omits the words ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ from his quotation of the LXX? Pseudo-Jonathan explains that exposure on a tree is “a disgrace before the Lord”, because the executed man is made in the image of God. Most commentators assume that by using the LXX to explain the word “curse”, Paul is indicating that he means “cursed *by* God”, but his introductory words, “Christ has redeemed us from *the curse of the law*” suggest that he understands Christ to have fallen under the curse pronounced *by the law*.

The third possible explanation of Paul’s use of the noun κατάρα is found in the Jewish understanding that those who were under a curse became a source of contamination to others. Thus Pseudo-Jonathan goes on to explain that the malefactor’s body must be removed from the tree by night-fall lest it should pollute the land. The well-known story of Achan⁷ demonstrates how the wrong-doer brought a curse on others, and therefore had to be destroyed, together with everything belonging to him. To say that Christ became “a curse” is to say more than that he was “cursed”: it suggests that he became a source of contamination to others. Logically, therefore, one might expect Paul to continue by saying that Christ brought a curse on others. In fact, however, the opposite is true: he became a source of blessing. Nevertheless, although the divine purpose was to bring blessing to the Gentiles and to all who believe, yet to those who refuse to trust

⁴ To be sure, Paul uses ἐπικατάρατος, rather than κεκατηραμένος—possibly because he wants to pick up the opening word of the quotation from Deut 27:26 (see Gal 3:10).

⁵ So E.P. Sanders, *Paul* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 58.

⁶ J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians* (10th edn; London and New York: Macmillan, 1890) 152.

⁷ Joshua 7.

in him he remains a σκάνδαλον,⁸ and so, for a time at least, the cause of Israel's failure and exclusion.⁹

What, then, of the blessing? The second part of our "interchange" statement corresponds to the first in using a noun, but there the similarity ceases. If the two clauses were strictly parallel, we might expect Paul to write *either* that "Christ became a curse in order that the Gentiles might *become* a blessing", or that "Christ became cursed, in order that the Gentiles might be blessed"—which is, in effect, what most commentators understand him to mean. There is a further complication, however, since the symmetry is disturbed by the fact that Paul continues with a second ἵνα clause—"in order that we might receive the promised Spirit"—which apparently provides a definition of what it means to receive the blessing.

Now it may well be argued that if a pattern does not fit, we should not impose one it what Paul says—and I would have to agree. But I do not think that we should abandon the notion of "interchange" quite so readily. For it is clear that in speaking of Christ being made a curse, Paul is thinking of his identification with humanity's condition. The curse, he has insisted, rests on all who do not have πίστις—and since this πίστις comes only with Christ (3:23, 25), this curse rests on all humanity until his coming. How, then, we may wonder, was *Abraham* able to trust God and to be counted δίκαιος? The answer seems to be that what Abraham trusted was the *promise* of God, a promise that was fulfilled in Christ. Abraham's faith was in a sense proleptic. "Scripture, foreseeing that God would 'rightwise' the Gentiles through faith, declared the gospel to Abraham beforehand" (v. 8). Between the promise and its fulfilment we have the law, under which we were "imprisoned" until the coming of faith (v. 23). This law was unable to bestow either life or righteousness (v. 21). The blessing promised to Abraham is given to those who believe, on the basis of πίστις Χριστοῦ (v. 22). The fact that faith comes only with the coming of Christ (v. 23) offers support to the suggestion that Paul may be thinking here of Christ's own πίστις as the basis of ours—but that is by the way.¹⁰

⁸ Gal 5:11; 1 Cor 1:23; Rom 9:33; 11:9.

⁹ Rom 11:7-10.

¹⁰ See G. Howard, "On the 'Faith of Christ'", *HTR* 60 (1967) 459-465; Richard Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1-4.11* (2nd edn.; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge UK: Eerdmans, 2001); S.K. Williams, "Again Pistis Christou", *CBQ* 49 (1987) 431-447; Morna D. Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ", *NTS* 35 (1989) 321-342, reprinted in *From Adam to Christ*, 165-186.

By being born of a woman, and under the law, therefore (4:4), Christ came under the curse of the law,¹¹ and his scandalous death demonstrates this. On the other side of the ledger, the gift of the Spirit demonstrates that the promise made to Abraham has been fulfilled: blessing has been poured out on the Gentiles. Since this blessing has come to the believing Gentiles as a result of their baptism into Christ, it is plain that the crucified Christ is not, after all, a “curse”, but a source of blessing. The resurrection has annulled the curse of the law.

2 Cor 5:21

We turn back, at last, to 2 Corinthians 5, and straight away we notice that here, too, we have a lack of symmetry. It is true that this time we have two nouns, so that we can reduce the central contrast to the statement that

He made him to be sin for us
in order that we might become righteousness in him

— but that is to ignore the word Θεοῦ! Moreover, the introductory “he who knew no sin” creates a further imbalance by forming an additional contrast to “he made him to be sin”.

This introductory phrase is perhaps easy to understand. The description of Christ as ἀμαρτία is shocking—so shocking that Paul apparently considered it necessary to ensure that he was not misunderstood. This time there can be no question of the noun being used for an adjective: Christ was *not* made “sinful”. Yet almost all commentators interpret the *second* noun as equivalent to an adjective. This can hardly be simply δίκαιος, however, since Paul qualifies δικαιοσύνη with Θεοῦ. Again, many commentators would endorse the comment of C.K. Barrett, who suggests that if the statement that “Christ became *sin*” means that “he came to stand in that relation with God which normally is the result of sin, estranged from God and the object of his wrath”, then “we became righteousness” means that we “have come to stand in that relationship with God which is described by the term *righteousness*, that is, we are acquitted in his court, justified, reconciled”.¹² According to this forensic understanding of the term,

¹¹ Cf. C. Stanley, “‘Under a Curse’: A Fresh Reading of Gal 3.10-14”, *NTS* 36 (1990) 481-511.

¹² C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Black, 1973) 180.

δικαιοσύνη is treated as the equivalent of the participle δικαιωθέντες,¹³ and Θεοῦ is regarded as a genitive of origin: it is *God* who has “rightwised” us, and *God* in whose court we are acquitted. An alternative explanation suggests that δικαιοσύνη, like ἁμαρτία—and like κατάρρα and εὐλογία in Gal 3:13f.—should be seen as an active power.

Let us begin, once again, by looking at the passage in context. The theme of 2 Corinthians is Paul’s ministry—and though the epistle opens with thanksgiving that he and the Corinthian congregation have been reconciled, the letter is in effect a defence of his ministry. Paul’s understanding of his apostleship is nothing less than conformity to the Gospel: his ministry is a revelation of glory (chapter 3)—but the glory is that of Christ, which means that Paul carries the death of Jesus in his body, in order that the life of Jesus may be displayed there. This means that he is given up to death for Jesus’ sake, in order that others might live (4:11-12). Yet the revelation of the glory of Christ is not confined to apostles. “We are *all* being transformed into [Christ’s] image”, writes Paul (3:18).¹⁴ It is true that Paul seems to see his role as an apostle to be a channel of the “inter-change” of experience that has come to him in Christ. Sharing in the sufferings of Christ, he has been able to pass on the consolation he has received to the Corinthians (1:3-7); experiencing the dying of Jesus, he has been enabled to bring life to them (4:8-12); his weakness has been the means of conveying Christ’s power (13:3-4). But the process does not stop there! The Corinthians themselves are a “letter of Christ” (3:3), and the grace they experience extends to others (4:15).¹⁵ Those who have been made rich through Christ’s poverty (8:9) are urged to share their wealth with others in ministering to the saints in Jerusalem (9:10-15). In an earlier letter, 1 Corinthians, Paul had already defended his understanding of his apostolic role and urged the Corinthians to imitate him (1 Cor 4:15; 11:1). The apostle’s life is modelled on the pattern of the Gospel, but it is intended as a model for others.

The use of the first person plural throughout these chapters clearly applies to Paul in particular; he is describing his own experience. Yet what he says is true—or *ought* to be true!—of Christians in general. The pattern of the Gospel should be stamped on *all* their lives.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The πάντες is missing from P46, but it seems more likely that it was accidentally omitted than that it was deliberately added.

¹⁵ Margaret E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians I* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994) 346.

At the beginning of 2 Corinthians 5, Paul describes how “our earthly tent” is being destroyed, and how “we groan”, longing for a better dwelling; he is undoubtedly drawing here on his own experience, and precisely because it *is* his experience, it is linked with his apostolic calling. Nevertheless, the experience of mortality is common to others, and the confidence he expresses should also be shared by others. Similarly, “we must *all* appear before the judgement seat of Christ” (5:10). Immediately following this, however, the “we” of v. 11 refers to Paul in particular: “we try to persuade others”, he says, and then describes what that means. Whatever he does is “for God” and “for you” (v. 13). V. 14 spells out the reason, and introduces the first brief summary of the gospel: “The love of Christ controls us, since we hold that one died for all, therefore all have died. And one died for all, in order that the living might no longer live to themselves but to the one who died and rose for them.” At its heart, this summary in vv. 14-15 contains yet another statement implying an “interchange”:

he died for all
in order that [they] might live to [him].

Once again, however, the brief summary has been overlaid with various explanations. The fact that Christ died for all means, first, that “all have died”: in other words, his death was not a substitute for theirs, but in some sense brought it about. Secondly, his death for all means that “those who live” should no longer live “to themselves”, but “to him who died and was raised for them”. Whether οἱ ζῶντες means “all who live” (i.e. all humanity) or “those who share Christ’s risen life” (i.e. all Christians) is not clear, but since the clause expresses purpose, perhaps we should understand him to mean the former. Moreover, the fact that Paul’s argument is based on the statement that “Christ died for all” suggests that he is thinking of life for all.

We have, then, a statement of the gospel that is both familiar—“he died and was raised”—and yet distinctive in the way that it indicates the *purpose* of his death and resurrection. But *why* does Paul quote this summary of the gospel here? He does so *in order to apply it to his own ministry*: the gospel means “living for Christ”, and for him, that means being constrained by Christ to persuade others—by word and example—of the truth of the gospel. At the same time, he is anxious that the Corinthians should see the relevance of this gospel to their own lives.

A further consequence of what has happened is that judgements “according to the flesh” are no longer appropriate (v. 16). This is because there is,

in Christ, a new creation: the old has gone and the new has come (v. 17). Here, too, what Paul says applies to *all* who are in Christ: hence he uses *τις* in v. 17. But the reason *why* he says it is probably related to his own commission. Before he was “in Christ” he *had* judged him “according to the flesh”, but he does so no longer. And it is precisely because his understanding of who Christ is is *not* “according to the flesh” that he has what the Corinthians—who still have a tendency to see things from that perspective (1 Cor 3:1-4)—regard as a strange understanding of what it means to be an apostle.

Everything that has happened, we are now told, is from God, “who reconciled us to himself, and gave us the ministry of reconciliation” (v. 18). The *first* “us” here cannot be limited to Paul and his colleagues: possibly Paul means “us Christians”, but the parallel statement in v. 19, which tells us that “in Christ God reconciled the world to himself”, suggests that he may be thinking of the whole human race. But to whom is the message of reconciliation entrusted (vv. 18b, 19b)? Is it to all who accept reconciliation? Or is Paul thinking of his own call to proclaim the gospel?

Since in v. 18 Paul speaks of God reconciling “us” meaning “us Christians”, and since he immediately says that the ministry—or message—of reconciliation is entrusted to “us”, we expect the “us” in v. 18b and v. 19b to have the same meaning as in v. 18a. Is this ministry, then, entrusted to Christians in general? Now there is certainly a sense in which we may say that all who accept reconciliation from God become themselves the agents of reconciliation. Paul rarely uses the verb *καταλλάσσω*; apart from the three occasions in vv. 18-20, we find it only in Rom 5:10 (where it is used twice, in both cases of our reconciliation to God) and 1 Cor 7:11, where the Christian woman is urged to be reconciled to her estranged husband. The noun *καταλλαγή* is found elsewhere only in Rom 5:11 and 11:15, where Paul describes Israel’s failure as bringing about the reconciliation of the world. But though the term “ministry of reconciliation” is unusual, the idea that Paul’s ministry reflects the gospel is certainly not, and neither is his conviction that his converts should share his task. The Corinthians share his sufferings and consolation (1:7), and they are urged to help him by their prayers (1:11) and to imitate him (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1). This idea is stressed in Philippians, where Paul urges members of the Christian community to prove themselves to be “innocent and above reproach”, to “shine like stars in a dark world, and to proffer the word of life” (2:15-16). Paul describes the Philippians as having shared in the work of ministry (1:5), and his purpose in writing seems to be to ensure that they continue his

understanding of ministry as conformity to the Gospel, appealing to them to imitate him (3:17; 4:9).¹⁶

Nevertheless, what he has in mind in 2 Cor 5:18-20 is clearly his own calling as an "ambassador of Christ":¹⁷ he is still trying to explain his understanding of his ministry to the Corinthians. In other words, the context suggests that we should understand the pronouns in vv. 18b, 19b and 20a to refer specifically to Paul and his fellow evangelists.¹⁸ The fact that there is an obvious awkwardness in moving from "us" meaning "us men and women" in v. 18a to "us" meaning "us apostles" in v. 18b¹⁹ is perhaps due to the fact that Paul is deliberately narrowing down the meaning here because he wants to demonstrate how he has endeavoured to live out the gospel. It is perhaps for this reason that Paul has again summarized the gospel, using language which he then applies to his own mission. As a result of the gospel, God is described as

giving to us the ministry of reconciliation . . .
entrusting to us the word of reconciliation . . .
entreating through us.

We suggest, then, that the language Paul uses here to summarize the gospel—that in it God reconciles the world to himself—has once again been chosen because it is appropriate to what he wishes to say about his ministry. In other words, he understands his role in terms of bringing about reconciliation between God and the gentiles.

So what, specifically, *is* the message of reconciliation? V. 21 offers us yet a third summary. Once again, it speaks of the significance of Christ's death:

¹⁶ M.D. Hooker, "Philippians: Phantom Opponents and the Real Source of Conflict", in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity*, Festschrift for Heikki Räisänen (eds. Ismo Dunderberg, Christopher Tuckett and Kari Syreeni; Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1992) 377-395.

¹⁷ For the significance of the term "ambassador" here see Anthony Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ* (WUNT 2.92, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

¹⁸ Furnish, on the other hand, follows other commentators in taking vv. 18 and 19 to refer to believers, even though in v. 20 "the first-person-plural pronouns must refer to the Pauline apostolate". See Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians* (Anchor Bible 32A; Garden City, New York, 1984) 320 and 339.

¹⁹ C.K. Barrett describes it as "abrupt and difficult" (2 *Corinthians*, 176).

The one who knew no sin
 God made sin on our behalf
 in order that we might become the righteousness of God in him.

The previous summaries spoke of Christ dying “for all”, and of his death being a means of reconciliation for “the world”, whereby transgressions are not “counted”. The third, which is the “appeal” made by Christ’s ambassadors to the world, is more personal: “Christ was made sin for us”.

Why ἁμαρτία? The noun cannot here be a substitute for an adjective, but is it perhaps shorthand for a phrase? Does it mean “sin-offering”?²⁰ Attractive as this interpretation has been to some commentators, it must be rejected: Paul can hardly have used ἁμαρτία with two different meanings almost side by side. But how could Christ have been “made sin”? In Galatians 3, the context offered some sort of explanation as to why Paul might have employed the nouns, “curse” and “blessing”, but there is no help of this kind here. The horror of the word serves to underline the need of the world for “reconciliation”; this is what we are without Christ—“sin”—alienated from God. Sin is for Paul an alien power that corrupts the world and leads to death, because of the weakness of the flesh (Romans 6-7). The Old Testament provides an analogy of what it means to be identified with sin in the scapegoat, and Jesus’ own experience of “being made sin”, cut off from God, is graphically portrayed in the cry of dereliction (Mark 15:34//Matt. 27:46).

The purpose, we are told, was “that we might become the righteousness of God in him”. Once again we must ask “who are the ‘we’?” The assumption that δικαιοσύνη is equivalent to δικαιωθέντες means that the majority of commentators conclude that the “we” here must refer to all Christians: we are *all* “rightwised”, “accepted in God’s court”, and the “righteousness” is understood to be a divine gift bestowed on believers. Θεοῦ then emphasizes the fact that we are talking about a righteousness whose origin is God, not man. But though the phrase “the righteousness of God” is used elsewhere in contrast to “my own righteousness” (Rom 10:3; Phil 3:9), this particular contrast hardly seems relevant here. Why, then, should Θεοῦ be used here? It may well be, of course, that Paul instinctively emphasized the fact that any “righteousness” that Christians possessed came from God. But the phrase δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ presents us with a *double* puzzle. If Paul has in mind here our “rightwising”, then why does he use the noun, δικαιοσύνη, rather than δικαιωθέντες? Is the noun used merely to provide

²⁰ The LXX uses both ἁμαρτία and περὶ ἁμαρτίας for “that which is for sin”.

a contrast to ἁμαρτία? Turning back to Gal 3:13, we remember that there was in fact no symmetry there, because Paul did *not* say that the Gentiles had *become* a blessing, but rather that the blessing came *to* them. On the analogy of that passage, we might expect him to say here that “Christ became sin in order that righteousness might come to us”—or “in order that we might *receive* righteousness”—the expression he uses in Rom 9:30. Instead, he declares that we *become* the righteousness of God.

Essential to understanding Paul’s way of thinking is the phrase ἐν αὐτῷ, which features in so many of these “interchange” passages. It is only when we are united with Christ that we become righteousness. Just as he was identified with our sin, so we—because we are in him—are now identified with God’s righteousness. *We become what he is*. A similar idea is expressed in 1 Cor 1:30, where Paul declares that Christ “became for us wisdom from God, righteousness and sanctification and redemption”.²¹ He is seen here as the *source* of our righteousness, as well as of wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. These terms are all dynamic. If Christ is “for us wisdom from God”, that is because he is himself both “the power of God and the wisdom of God” (1 Cor 1:24).

What, then, can it mean to “become God’s righteousness”? It was Ernst Käsemann who suggested that many exegetes of this passage had been misled because their understanding of the phrase “the righteousness of God” in Paul had been largely shaped by the Reformation tradition. Käsemann argued that in some passages, at least, the phrase should be understood as a subjective genitive characterizing God’s own nature and activity, rather than as a righteousness bestowed on men and women. In Jewish thought, God’s righteousness is his integrity, his faithfulness to the covenant, his justice; it is demonstrated in putting things right, and is therefore revealed in both salvation and judgement. We should remember that “δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is for Paul, as it is for the Old Testament and Judaism in general, a phrase expressing divine activity”.²² This meaning is clear in Rom 1:17; 3:5,

²¹ One wonders whether, in saying that “Christ became for us righteousness”, Paul had in mind the words of Deut 6:25, where the *Hebrew* reads: “It shall be to us righteousness if we diligently obey this whole commandment.” In contrast to “our” righteousness, Christians now have Christ: no wonder, then, that boasting is excluded (1 Cor 1:29, 31). There is an interesting parallel to 1 Cor 1:30 in 1QS 10:11: “To God I shall say ‘my righteousness’.” God is here seen as the judge who deals justly and mercifully with his servants, and is praised for his salvation.

²² Ernst Käsemann, “‘The Righteousness of God’ in Paul”, in *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM, 1969) 168-182 (originally published *ZTK* 58 [1961] 367-378),

21-6, in all of which God's righteousness is revealed in salvation or (Rom 3:5) judgement, while in 1 Cor 1:30, "it appears as the direct manifestation of the Christ".²³ Käsemann concluded that in 2 Cor 5:21, God's righteousness becomes manifested on earth in "those who live under the eschatological justice of God".²⁴ Bultmann disputed Käsemann's interpretation, saying that it was unnecessary to hold that a phrase had the same meaning in every case.²⁵ This is certainly true—but the meaning elsewhere may nevertheless be a helpful guide!²⁶ Not surprisingly, Bultmann understood the phrase here to mean that we are "justified" by God. I wonder, however, whether Käsemann's suggestion has not pointed us to the key to understanding why Paul used this particular phrase here. Elsewhere, it seems clear from the context that for Paul, δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ does indeed refer primarily to God's activity in setting things to rights. Even in Rom 10:3 and Phil 3:9, where God's righteousness stands in contrast to "human righteousness", it is plain that his righteousness is manifested in the gospel (Rom 10:4; Phil 3:8-10). Is there anything in the context of 2 Cor. 5:21, therefore, to suggest that when Paul uses the phrase there, he perhaps means that "we" are in some sense partakers in this divine activity?

In looking at the previous two summaries of the gospel (2 Cor 5:14-15, 18-19) we suggested that Paul's purpose in quoting them was to apply them, in particular, to his own ministry. Is he perhaps doing something similar here? Has he once again chosen language that is particularly apposite to his understanding of his ministry? The context suggests that this is so. Already, in the first few chapters of 2 Corinthians, he has spelt out the

at 174. S. Lyonnet also argued that "it is not so much a question of a divine attribute as of the divine activity which works the restoration of Israel"; see "Pauline Soteriology", 820-865 in A. Robert & A. Feuillet, *Introduction to the New Testament* (New York/Rome/Paris/Tournai: Desclee, 1965) 834. See also Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 74-78; Karl Kertelge, "Rechtfertigung" bei Paulus (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966) 99-107.

²³ "Righteousness", 173.

²⁴ "Righteousness", 181.

²⁵ Rudolf Bultmann, "ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ", *JBL* 83 (1964) 12-16 (republished in *Exegetica* [ed. E. Dinkler; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1967] 470-475). For further discussion of the phrase, see R. Bieringer, "Sünde und Gerechtigkeit Gottes in 2 Korinther 5,21", in *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (eds. R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht; Leuven: Peeters, 1994) 461-513.

²⁶ In an additional note to the 1969 reprint of his essay, Käsemann denies that he was assuming that the concept "must have the same meaning throughout the Pauline corpus". "Righteousness", 168 (footnote).

way in which his own suffering has brought consolation to the Corinthians: "Death is at work in us, but life in you" (4:12). Following 2 Cor 5:21 he continues "Working together with [Christ], we entreat you not to receive the grace of God in vain" (6:1). He has moved here from the general to the particular: picking up the verb παρακαλέω, used in v. 20, where the audience was not specified, he now addresses the Corinthians. "Now is the day of salvation", he declares (v. 2)—they must not lose what they have been given! It is fear that they might do so that explains why he is so anxious lest they reject his ministry (6:3). Spelling out what this ministry has cost him, and the gifts that he has needed to exercise it, he declares that he has ministered "in the power of God, with the weapons of righteousness in his right and left hands" (6:7).

In the exercise of his ministry, then, Paul demonstrates the power of God, even though he is enduring weakness and affliction. This experience reflects the paradox seen in Christ, who suffered weakness and shame, but who is the source of power and righteousness (1 Cor 1:23-25, 30). This is an idea that he will expound in 2 Cor 13:3-4:

Christ was crucified because of weakness
But he lives because of God's power
So we are weak in him
But live with him—towards you—because of God's power.²⁷

The weapons of righteousness wielded by Paul are of course also supplied by God. The true minister of God, working in the power of God, embodies the gospel—the dying and rising of Christ—and so is himself an instrument of righteousness. So it is, in 6:10, that Paul claims that by sharing in the extraordinary paradox of Christ's incarnation, death and resurrection—which means that though he is dying, yet he is alive (v. 9)—he is able, though poor, to make others rich (6:10), thus sharing in the mission of Christ himself (8:9).

Although both Bultmann and Barrett rejected Käsemann's understanding of the phrase δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ in 2 Cor 5:21, it was Bultmann himself—quoted approvingly by Barrett²⁸—who summed up most clearly what I am suggesting is conveyed by understanding δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ in an

²⁷ The repetition of "God's power" suggests that Paul is anxious to emphasize here the fact that any power he exerts is not his own.

²⁸ C.K. Barrett, *2 Corinthians*, 178-179.

active, rather than a passive, sense. I use Barrett's translation: "With the cross, God instituted the office of reconciliation, the word of reconciliation (2 Cor v. 18f.); in other words, the preaching itself also belongs to the event of salvation.... in it Christ is encountered, God's own word... is encountered: 'So we act for Christ, while God at the same time preaches through our mouth'."²⁹ And as Paul reminds us in Rom 1:16-17, it is in the gospel, which is the power of God, working towards salvation, that the righteousness of God is revealed. Should we be surprised, then, if the apostle whose manner of life—as well as his preaching—is conformed to the gospel, and *in* whom the power of God is at work, has become "the righteousness of God"? This is what it means for Paul "to live for Christ", not himself, and to be an "ambassador for Christ", entrusted with "the message of reconciliation". Could this explain why, in this third summary of the gospel, he uses the language he does?

Nevertheless, it is "we" who become the righteousness of God, and that righteousness should therefore be revealed in the lives of *all* believers, not just those of the apostles. If Christ is the source of "righteousness and sanctification" (1 Cor 1:30), then those who, in him, become what he is, should also embody righteousness and sanctification. Perhaps this explains why Paul goes on, in 6:14-7:1, to urge Christians to live holy lives: righteousness and lawlessness cannot be partners,³⁰ any more than can Christ and Beliar. Although this passage is often regarded as an intrusion into 2 Corinthians (in spite of the lack of textual evidence to support this view), it is certainly appropriate for Paul to remind his readers that righteousness is incompatible with idolatry and immorality.³¹ Being the righteousness of God must mean being like him, since he is their God and they are his people (6:16). *Being* righteousness implies living righteously.

The passage's relevance to the theme of the letter becomes clearer when we recall that Paul has described the Corinthians as his letter of recommendation (3:2): what they are validates both his ministry and his gospel.³² If the righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel and in the life of the apostle, it must be revealed also in the faith and lives of those who

²⁹ "Jesus und Paulus" (originally published 1936), *Exegetica*, 210-229, at 228.

³⁰ Cf. Rom 8:19, where "slaves of lawlessness" are contrasted with "slaves of righteousness", owing allegiance to different masters.

³¹ So H.-D. Wendland, *Die Briefe an der Korinther* (7th edn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954) 187: "Wer zur Gerechtigkeit geworden ist (5,21), kann nichts mehr mit der Ungerechtigkeit zu tun haben."

³² M.E. Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 472.

respond to the gospel—and that means that what they are and do will be the means of witnessing to the gospel. Paul is not demanding that Christians withdraw from the world—how could he, when he did not do so himself? What he does insist is that those who are called to be channels of righteousness and light must not compromise with the dubious morality of their neighbours, but cleanse themselves and “make holiness perfect” (2 Cor 7:1; cf. 1 Cor 1:30). God himself will then live among them, and they will be his temple and his holy people. God’s righteousness will be seen in them.

Paul’s appeal to the Corinthians in chapters 8-9 can also be seen as a logical continuation from the conviction that Christians are agents of righteousness. This section begins with a reminder that the Macedonians have longed to share in Paul’s ministry to the saints (8:14) and have done so by contributing to his collection. Paul then urges the Corinthians, also, to share in every kind of good work. Since God’s righteousness abides for ever, he will increase the yield of *their* righteousness (9:8-10); once again, we see the link between God’s righteousness and that of Christians—and this righteousness is demonstrated in bringing assistance to those in need. It is certainly no accident that the key appeal in this section is made on the basis of another of Paul’s “interchange” statements: “you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that—being rich—he became poor for your sake, in order that you, by his poverty, might become rich” (8:9). The Corinthians, too, must in their turn bring riches to others. By doing so, they will be sharing in Paul’s ministry, and God’s saving power will work through them.

In 2 Cor 5:14-21, Paul has given us three summaries of the gospel. I have suggested that the language he uses is chosen in order to draw out the particular relevance of the gospel for his own ministry. Nevertheless, the summaries speak of a universal salvation, and the experience Paul describes is shared by others—or should be! Christ died for *all*, so that *all* might live for him,³³ and living for him means offering the message of reconciliation to others and serving as instruments of God’s righteousness. Christ became sin for *us*, in order that *we* might become the righteousness of God, and that “we” can hardly be exclusive! The new creation embraces *all* who are in Christ. Becoming God’s righteousness is not just a matter of being acquitted in God’s court or of sharing Christ’s status before God. If God’s righteousness is a restorative power, bringing life and reconciliation, then

³³) Cf. Rom 6:13, where Paul urges his readers to offer themselves no longer to sin, as instruments of wickedness, but to God, as instruments of righteousness.

those who “become righteousness” will be the means of manifesting that power in the world. The “we” in v. 21b, which has particular significance for Paul’s own understanding of discipleship and ministry, becomes an invitation to others to share in the divine activity. What Christ is to us—righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, redemption—Christians must now be to the world.

Text-Critical and Intertextual Remarks on 1 Tim 2:8-10

Korinna Zamfir^{a, b} and Joseph Verheyden^b

^{a)} *Cluj*

^{b)} *Leuven*

Abstract

After reassessing the various ways of dealing with the ellipsis in 1 Tim 2:9, it is argued that βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι offers a plausible resolution. Yet the ambiguity of the text suggests that 1 Tim 2:8-15 resulted from using several sources. The intertextual analysis shows that 1 Timothy very likely used as a pre-text the cultic rule found in 1 Cor 11 and its context. A second pre-text consists of a station code tradition and of Neo-Pythagorean exhortations. This complex intertextual enterprise allows 1 Tim to “correct” Paul’s more permissive attitude regarding the role men and women can play in public worship.

Keywords

1 Tim 2:8-10; ellipsis; textual criticism; intertextuality; 1 Cor 11:3-15

In a recent essay Kenneth L. Cukrowski discusses and compares two possible ways to supply the ellipsis in 1 Tim 2:9.¹ One possibility is to add βούλομαι only, as suggested by a number of scholars,² and understand v. 9

¹⁾ K.L. Cukrowski, “An Exegetical Note on the Ellipsis in I Timothy 2:9”, in J.W. Childers, D.C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 4; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006) 232-238.

²⁾ For βούλομαι plead: N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1969) 132; J. Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus* (EKK XV; Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988) 126; G.W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992) 130-133; J.M. Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996) 55-57; W.D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (WBC 46; Nashville: Nelson, 2000) 106, 108; L.T. Johnson *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (AB 35A; New York/London: Doubleday, 2001) 199. We list here T.R. Schreiner, “An Interpretation of 1 Tim 2:9-15: A Dialogue with Scholarship”, in A.J. Köstenberger, T.R. Schreiner, H.S. Baldwin (eds.), *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9-15*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995) 105-154 (114); L. Oberlinner, *Die Pastoralbriefe* 1.

as merely referring to the way women should adorn. The other is to supply *βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι*, a reading that would clearly specify that women are expected to pray.³ Other authors leave the question open,⁴ or do not address the matter directly, but their interpretation implies a certain understanding.⁵ This evidence apparently suggests that there are two major

Kommentar zum ersten Timotheusbrief (HThK XI/2/1; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1994) 87; U. Wagener, *Die Ordnung des Hauses Gottes: Der Ort von Frauen in der Ekklesiologie und Ethik der Pastoralbriefe* (WUNT 2.65; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994) 72-74 (referring to public prayer); A. Merz, *Die Fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus: Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe* (NTOA 52; Göttingen: V&R, 2004) 274-275; Ph. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (NICNT; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006) 204.

³) Cukrowski mentions C.K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 55; M. Dibelius, H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972) 45 [cf. 44]; B. Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 119, cf. n. 203 on p. 263 (see also *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy and 1-3 John* [Grand Rapids: InterVarsity, 2006] 224); W. Liefeld, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (The NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999) 93-95. See also E. Hautsch, *Die Evangelienzeit des Origenes* (TU 34.2a; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909) 8; H.-H. Mayer, *Über die Pastoralbriefe: I-II Tim Tit* (FRLANT N.F. 3; Göttingen, 1913) 31-32; D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Tyndale NT Commentaries; Leicester: InterVarsity; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957, repr. 1986) 74; H.-W. Bartsch, *Die Anfänge urchristlicher Rechtsbildungen: Studien zu den Pastoralbriefen* (Theologische Forschung 34; Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965) 60; G. Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (ThHKNT 13; Berlin: EVA, 1972) 65; M. Küchler, *Schweigen, Schmuck und Schleier* (NTOA 1; Freiburg /Göttingen: V&R, 1986) 11, cf. 4; I.H. Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; London/New York: T&T Clark, 1999) 446-447. With nuances J.D. Quinn, W.C. Wacker, *The First and Second Letter to Timothy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 194, 215 (explicitly supplying *βούλομαι*, but asserting that women “are to pray in precisely the way that the men have just been directed to”); C. Spicq, *Les Épitres Pastorales I* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969) 374-375 (not directly *βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι*, but *πάλιν ἐρῶ*: women are to pray for the salvation of the world, performing an apostolic function).

⁴) See A. Schlatter, *Die Kirche der Griechen im Urteil des Paulus. Eine Auslegung seiner Briefe an Timotheus und Titus* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1958) 83-84; D.C. Verner, *The Household of God. The Social World of the Pastoral Epistles* (SBL Dissertations 71; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 168; J.M. Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind. A Critique of Four Exegetical Devices at Timothy 2.9-15* (JSNT Sup 196; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 55-59; R. Van Neste, *Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 37; cf. 40.

⁵) A.T. Hanson regards 2:9-15 as a domestic code and does not apply it to prayer (*The Pastoral Epistles* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, London: Marshall, Morgan, Scott, 1982] 71, cf. 43). G.D. Fee does not discuss the ellipsis, but states: “Paul continues his

camps adopting opposite positions, but as a matter of fact the issue is much more complex. Many of those who supply only βούλομαι explicitly or implicitly indicate that they understand vv. 9-10 as a reference to women praying in public worship.⁶ It seems then that there is no clear-cut distinction between two factions, one asserting and the other denying that women are to pray, since only very few authors take vv. 9-10 to be merely part of a household code. Cukrowski himself pleads for βούλομαι, pointing to seemingly insolvable grammatical difficulties when reading βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι.

In this essay three issues will be addressed. First, it will be argued that a text-critical analysis allows for both options to supply the ellipsis, and an explanation will be suggested for this ambiguity. Second, building on the possibility to read βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι in v. 9, in an intertextual analysis, 1 Tim 2:8-10 will be compared with 1 Cor 11:4-15 (more particularly vv. 4-5, 7a). Third, it will be shown that the ambiguous character of vv. 9-10 derives not only from a merger of two different genres, but results from a decision by 1 Tim to provide a relecture of the pre-text in 1 Cor 11 and to offer a correction of Paul by "Paul".

1. The Ellipsis and the Text of 1 Tim 2:8-10

1.1 *The Solutions Proposed by K.L. Cukrowski*

Cukrowski offers two possible reconstructions and readings of vv. 8-10:

1.
 Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ
 ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας
 χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμῶν.

instructions on 'prayer'" (*1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* [Good News Commentaries; New York: Harper&Row, 1984] 33-34).

⁶ Explicitly Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 130-133; Schreiner, "Interpretation", 114 (both refer to 1 Cor 11:1ff as proof); Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 87, who notes that Bartsch might have a point when relating the attributes in vv. 9-10 to προσεύχεσθαι; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 106, 108. R.F. Collins does not discuss the ellipsis, and although explaining κοσμεῖν (*1 2 Timothy: A Commentary* [NTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002] 66), he connects vv. 8-10 to prayer: "Men are urged to come to prayer with no anger in their hearts or quarrelling [...]. Women are urged to come to prayer with lives characterized by good works" (p. 64).

ὡσαύτως [βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι] γυναῖκας
 ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς
 καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς,
 μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ,
 ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

2.

Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ
 ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους
 χεῖρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμῶν.

ὡσαύτως [βούλομαι] γυναῖκας
 ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης
 κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς,
 μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ,
 ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

This text differs from NA²⁷ in two instances. Cukrowski does not explain his reason for replacing διαλογισμοῦ in v. 8 with διαλογισμῶν. A decision is not easy, as the manuscript evidence is divided.⁷ J.K. Elliott argues that the singular results from a harmonisation with ὀργῆς.⁸ But a change to the plural is equally possible. I.H. Marshall cites evidence for the use of the singular from the ethical lists in Col 3:8; Eph 4:31f.⁹ In the NT, διαλογισμός is mostly used in the plural (eleven out of fourteen instances). The exceptions are 1 Tim 2:8 and Luke 9:46, 47 (par. Mk 9:33 διαλογίζομαι), but in the latter the choice of the singular may have been influenced by the fact that one issue, and only one, is at stake: τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν (contrast the double question in Luke 5:21 and the plural διαλογισμοί in v. 22). The frequency of the plural would rather indicate a harmonisation in that direction, and the text is well attested.

In v. 9 Cukrowski drops καί before γυναῖκας (introduced in square brackets in NA²⁶⁻²⁷, against NA²⁵), which he thinks was added merely to smooth the syntax.¹⁰ The conjunction is missing in a number of

⁷ The plural occurs in $\aleph^2$ F G H 33 81 104 365 630 1505 1739 1881 sy (NA²⁷); cf. also 204 424 476 1022 1518 1873 1908 vt g bo Orig Eus Bas Hier (J.K. Elliott, *The Greek Text of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* [Studies and Documents 36, Salt Lake City, 1968] 39). WH reads the plural, but has διαλογισμοῦ as v.l. The text is supported by a large variety of witnesses: $\aleph^*$ A D Ψ $\mathfrak{M}$ lat (NA²⁷); cf. K L P, most minuscules, arm got eth Dam Euthal Orig Chrys Theod-Mops Ambst (Elliott, *Text*, 39).

⁸ Elliott, *Text*, 39.

⁹ Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 443.

¹⁰ Cukrowski, "Ellipsis", 234, n. 6.

witnesses.¹¹ This reading was generally preferred by the older editions up to NA²⁵ (T, H, S, V, M, B), on the authority of $\aleph^*A$. However $\aleph$ has a tendency to omit καί, and in general scribes were inclined to drop καί, for stylistic reasons, as Elliott remarks.¹² The word may also have dropped out by mere parablepsis (ΩCAYTΩCKAIGYNAIKAC). Καί is supported by an important number of witnesses, both on its own and followed by τάς¹³ (καὶ τάς also supports καί). Elliott may be right that the combination of ὡσαύτως with καί was likely to be original, because scribes would rather have dropped καί than added it after ὡσαύτως.¹⁴ The Pastoral Epistles (PE) combine instances of ὡσαύτως with arthrous and with anarthrous nouns.¹⁵ The noun is usually in pre-position, except in 1 Tim 2:9 and 5:25. In v. 9 the article was probably added to harmonise with v. 8 (τοὺς ἄνδρας). Even if τάς is secondary, there are obvious arguments in favour of καί that should be considered. Καί following ὡσαύτως is additionally reinforcing the parallelism between vv. 8 and 9.

1. When supplying βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι a close parallel is established between the way men and women ought to pray, reinforcing the effect of ὡσαύτως. In this case γυναῖκας is the subject of the infinitive προσεύχεσθαι. The prepositional phrase ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς functions adverbially and parallels the analogous ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ in v. 8. Cukrowski suggests that this reconstruction can work only if both infinitives, προσεύχεσθαι and κοσμεῖν, depend on βούλομαι and are connected by καί. Therefore μετὰ αἰδοῦς has to be disconnected from σωφροσύνης and linked to ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ.¹⁶ As a result, μετὰ αἰδοῦς further specifies the attire ("in modest attire with modesty"), while σωφροσύνης would explain

¹¹ $\aleph^* A H P 33 81 1175$ pc sa^{ms} bo^{ms}.

¹² Elliott, *Text*, 207, cf. 206, 209, 211. Καί is also omitted in v. 8 (before διαλογισμοῦ). Additionally the same H P 33 omit καί before χρυσίῳ. $\aleph$ also omits καί in 2 Tim 1:12 (first καί); Tit 1:16 (both); possibly also in 1 Tim 1:12 and 2 Tim 2:21.

¹³ Καί is read by $\aleph^2 D^* F G 6 365 1739$ Ambst, Spec; καὶ τάς by: D¹ K L H Ψ Φ 69 1881 1908 Chrys Theod Euthal. See NA²⁶⁻²⁷ and Elliott, *Text*, 39. For καί pleads Mayer, *Pastoralbriefe*, 31, as well as Marshall (with some hesitation), because of 1 Tim 5:25 (*Pastoral Epistles*, 443).

¹⁴ Elliott, *Text*, 207-208.

¹⁵ For the use of the article: 1 Tim 5:25 (ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ἔργα) and Tit 2:6 (τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως). In 1 Tim 3:8, 12 both nouns are anarthrous: διακόνους ὡσαύτως σεμνοὺς [...] γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως σεμνάς; cf. Tit 2:3: πρεσβύτιδας ὡσαύτως. See Elliott, *Text*, 39.

¹⁶ Cukrowski, "Ellipsis", 234, reconstruction and n. 7.

κοσμεῖν. Cukrowski rightly concludes that the first option as he presents it does not stand, for the modifier of κοσμεῖν has to take the dative, not the genitive.¹⁷ In addition, one would have to break up the phrase μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης that naturally holds together. A few witnesses have inverted the order, nonetheless indicating that the two nouns were clearly understood as belonging together.¹⁸ The close association of these concepts is attested in ancient authors.¹⁹

Since the grammatical inappropriateness of this construction overweighs its strength in terms of thematic coherence, Cukrowski is right that the first option, as he presents it, does not work.

2. If only βούλομαι is supplied, γυναῖκας is the subject of κοσμεῖν, that is further defined by the adverbial construction ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης. The clause describes the way women should adorn themselves.

Cukrowski now seems to disconnect ὁσίους from χειρας in v. 8, and connect it to ἄνδρας.²⁰ If not a mere mistake of layout, this presentation probably results from erroneously taking ὁσίους to be an accusative plural masculine. For the same reason some manuscripts have substituted ὁσίας, but in the Hellenistic declension ὁσίους can also denote the accusative plural feminine.²¹ Apart from that, disconnecting ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους from χειρας does not make much sense, since “lifting up hands” is a widely attested gesture of prayer, described by the almost formulaic ὁσίους χειρας.²² Men are expected “to lift up their hands”, i.e. to pray, in a manner

¹⁷) The author quotes a number of examples from Classical and Jewish authors, apocrypha and early Christian writings, where κοσμεῖν is used with a dative; cf. BDAG, s.v. κοσμέω (Cukrowski, “Ellipsis”, 235).

¹⁸) D; also Cyp and Ambs (Elliott, *Text*, 40). Although the v.l. probably occurred through transcriptional inversion, it supports the connection between αἰδώς and σωφροσύνη.

¹⁹) Though mostly related to women’s attitude and adornment, these terms occur together even in the king’s mirror: Diotogenes, περὶ βασιλείας, H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Acta Academiae Aboensis A. 30.1; Åbo, 1965) 71-75 (74,16: κατακοσμηθῆμεν καταπεπαλμένως αἰδοῖ καὶ σωφροσύνα διαθέσει τε τῶ περὶ τάν ἐπιτρέπῃαν).

²⁰) Cukrowski, “Ellipsis”, 236.

²¹) H 1734 1 241 2404 2587 2626 249** 479** 489. Therefore Elliott rightly regards ὁσίας as an Atticist correction (*Text*, 39).

²²) See the references to Jewish, Hellenistic and Christian texts that define purity or holiness as a quality of praying hands in Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 44-45, who rightly show that the emphasis is on χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ. Cf. also G. Strecker,

that is characterised positively by holiness and negatively by the absence of anger and disputes (or doubts).²³

Κοσμεῖν in v. 9 becomes the equivalent of προσεύχεσθαι in v. 8, thus prayer is excluded. The proposal provides both a verbal (βούλομαι), and a formal parallel between vv. 8 and 9. Moreover, the construction is grammatically correct.²⁴ Cukrowski concludes that this reading should be preferred, although it eliminates 1 Tim 2:9 from the list of instances referring to women praying, and could therefore be judged as a difficulty by "those who desire a passage that explicitly mentions women praying."²⁵

The present essay is not motivated by the desire to save 1 Tim 2:9 for such a list. However, this second proposal of Cukrowski is itself not without difficulties. The main problem with this reading is that it skips quite abruptly from the motif of prayer in v. 8 to that of women's attire in v. 9. Cukrowski answers the objection by pointing out that the reconstruction offers a coherent reading of 2:1-15, where prayer is introduced in vv. 1-2, and the repetition of the topic in v. 8 functions as a link "to a specific treatment of problems in worship."²⁶ But with such an argument Cukrowski makes worship the unifying theme of the pericope, and so in a way comes close to those who think that βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι should be supplied in v. 9. Moreover, there are other ways to supply the ellipsis. We will argue that it is possible to supply βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι and still preserve a grammatically correct structure.

Anyway, the analysis of the two reconstructions proposed by Cukrowski indicates that the text seems to require from the reader to choose between grammatical or thematic coherence. Cukrowski has opted for the first. Even so his decision is not without difficulties. Both his reconstructions imply an artificial division of the clauses (disconnecting μετὰ αἰδοῦς from σωφροσύνης in the first, and detaching ὁσίους from χεῖρας in the second reading).

It is important to note that the passage is intrinsically ambiguous. The most probable explanation is that the text resulted from the merger of elements belonging to different genres, as will be explained below. This results

U. Schnelle, G. Seelig (Hg.), *Neuer Wettstein. Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus* II/1 (Berlin-New York: W. de Gruyter, 1996) 850-851; Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 85; Johnson, *Timothy*, 198.

²³ On the possible translations of διαλογισμός: BDAG, s.v.; Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 47; Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 45; Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 86-87.

²⁴ Cukrowski, "Ellipsis", 236.

²⁵ Cukrowski, "Ellipsis", 236-237.

²⁶ Cukrowski, "Ellipsis", 237.

in the difficulty to ascertain at once absolute grammatical and thematic consistency.²⁷

1.2 *The Ellipsis of 1 Tim 2:8-10 Revisited*

The possibilities for supplying the ellipsis are not exhausted by Cukrowski's two proposals. In the following, two other suggestions are presented, before returning once more to the option supplying βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι.

1.2.1. *Κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς as a Secondary Expansion*

It is clear that the requirements addressed to men and women are analogously structured, but they are not identical, and are more elaborately formulated in v. 9. The requests addressed to women are further expanded with other exhortations (to preserve silence, to be submitted) and prohibitions (to teach and exert authority over men). Women are reminded of their inferiority in creation and their fallacious nature, and they are promised salvation by childbearing. All these manifold requirements and prohibitions have no counterpart in the exhortation addressed to men. The most likely explanation of this unbalance (apart from possible ideological reasons) is the fact that vv. 8-9 (±10) contain a cultic rule²⁸ largely expanded with material reflecting the catalogues of virtues incorporated in the "station code" tradition²⁹ and in Neo-Pythagorean exhortations to women.³⁰

²⁷ After a thorough analysis, Wagener, *Ordnung*, 74 rightly concludes: "eine eindeutige und alle syntaktischen Merkmale befriedigend integrierende Interpretation von v9f nicht zu finden ist".

²⁸ The term "cultic rule" refers here to early Christian regulations defining the attitudes to be displayed or avoided by participants in the worship.

²⁹ It has been objected that the PE do not have household codes properly speaking (such as Col 3:18-4:1; Eph 5:21-6:9), since they lack the three pairs of addressees (husband-wife, parents-children, master-slaves) and the reciprocal obligations. Yet Verner rightly remarks that these codes could take various forms and that specific *topoi* (e.g. references to the πόλις, to authority, or feminine virtues), are found in the PE, including 1 Tim 2 (*Household*, 83-111). Nonetheless, the term "station code" is preferred (Verner, *Household*, 90, 92; Wagener, *Ordnung*, 62; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 232-236). It is likely that the household code tradition has been integrated into church orders (Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 44-45; Wagener, *Ordnung*, 62; Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 83, 87). L. Donelson might be right that the household codes were fragmented and various parts were placed in different locations of the PE; e.g. 1 Tim 2:8-15; 5:1-6:2; Tit 2:1-10; 3:1-2 (*Pseudoepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* [HUTh 22; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986] 177).

³⁰ Neo-Pythagorean tractates, such as Kallikratidas, Περὶ οἴκου εὐδαιμονίας; Perictyone, Περὶ γυναικὸς ἀρμονίας; Phintys, Περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνας (Thesleff, *Pythagorean*

On the hypothesis of a composite text some authors, while asserting that the ellipsis should be supplied with βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι, have resorted to a more radical way of dealing with the passage. E. Hautsch remarked that v. 9 in its present form is incomprehensible because of κοσμεῖν (ἑαυτάς).³¹ In his analysis of the church regulations ("Kirchenordnungen") of the PE, H.H. Mayer, taking up Hautsch, understands vv. 9-10 as referring to women praying, and agrees that the main difficulty of the text arises from κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς.³² Vv. 8-9 refer to a cultic rule in which v. 9 deals with the attitude of praying women, and κοσμεῖν has to be dismissed as a secondary expansion. Mayer suggests the following reading:

ὡσαύτως [βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι] καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης, [κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς] μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.³³

Mayer is followed by H.-W. Bartsch, who regards κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς as an addition by the author, modifying the cultic rule. The text reflects a later stage in the elaboration of church regulations.³⁴

This reading is largely based on Origen, who in his *Περὶ εὐχῆς* interpreted 1 Tim 2:9-10 as referring to the manner in which women should pray. After commenting on v. 8, he goes on stating,

πρὸς τούτοις τὴν γυναῖκα χρὴ ἔχειν μάλιστα εὐχομένην τὸ κατεσταλμένον καὶ τὸ κόσμιον ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, πάντων μᾶλλον ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ὅτε εὐχεται αἰδομένην τὸν θεόν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκόλαστον καὶ γυναῖκειαν ὑπόμνησιν ἐξορίσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ καὶ κεκοσμημένην οὐκ "ἐν πλέγμασι καὶ χρυσῷ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ", ἀλλ' οἷς πρόπον ἐστὶ κεκοσμηθῆαι γυναῖκα θεοσέβειαν ἐπαγγελλομένην [...], ὡς ἐδίδαξεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων: "γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίως (κοσμίῳ) μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν

Texts, 103-107; 142-145 and 151-154, respectively), as well as the epistolary material (e.g. Melissa to Kleareta, in A. Städele, *Die Briefe des Pythagoras und der Pythagoreer* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 115; Meisenheim an Glan: Hain, 1980] 160/161-162/163) show striking thematic and verbal similarities with the PE. On the strategy of these pseudoepigraphic writings see Wagener, *Ordnung*, 89-92.

³¹) Hautsch, *Evangelienzitate*, 7-9.

³²) Mayer, *Pastoralbriefe*, 32.

³³) Mayer, *Pastoralbriefe*, 31.

³⁴) *Anfänge*, 63-64, 67-68. Bartsch reads βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας, and deletes κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς.

ἐαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασι καὶ χρυσῷ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.”³⁵

Origen interprets καταστολή as demeanour, not attire, and connects μετὰ αἰδοῦς (καὶ σωφροσύνης) to women's deportment. Thus the first part of 1 Tim 2:9-10 refers to attitude,³⁶ and only the subsequent part to the outward manifestation of their inward disposition.

The reconstruction proposed by Hautsch, Mayer and Bartsch is in a way a source-critical decision, as it is based on the hypothesis that the text combines two different types of tradition. It is an attempt to explain the ambiguity of v. 9, as well as the obvious thematic discordance between v. 8 and vv. 9b-12, 15b. Additionally, it solves the syntactic-grammatical difficulties of v. 9 and the question about the verb to which the adverbial phrases should be related. The fact that this reconstruction is based on a conjecture is a major difficulty. Nonetheless, Mayer and Bartsch are right about the heterogeneous character of vv. 9-15, which combine a general rule concerning women's demeanour and a cultic rule, a hypothesis taken over by other scholars as well.³⁷

1.2.2. *Supplying the Ellipsis with the Entire Clause of v. 8*

A different option to supply the ellipsis was suggested already by Chrysostom. He understood ὡσαύτως as referring to the whole clause of v. 8. Thus he reads: ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς βούλομαι, φησί, Θεῷ προσιέναι, χωρὶς ὀργῆς, χωρὶς διαλογισμοῦ, ὁσίους χειράς ἔχειν.³⁸

This proposal was adopted by modern scholars as well. In their translation, Quinn and Wacker explicitly supply only βούλομαι (“I also wish them to be attractive / to make themselves attractive”), but they clearly understand the text as a reference to prayer, when stating that women “are

³⁵ Origen, *Περὶ εὐχῆς*, 9.1 (GCS 2; Leipzig, 1899) 318; cf. p. 300. The GCS edition reads κοσμίῳ in the text, i.e. the adjective (κόσμιος) defining καταστολή, which would suggest a reference to attire. But in the list of errata (p. 542, referring to pp. 300 and 308) this is corrected to κόσμιος. Already the apparatus of GCS 2, p. 318 (cf. p. 300), mentions that Delarue reads κοσμίως, in agreement with codex T (also Hautsch, *Evangelienzitate*, 7-8). Other textual variants in Origen are: πλέγμασι, χρυσῷ (cf. also Elliot, 41).

³⁶ See also Hautsch, *Evangelienzitate*, 7-9; Mayer, *Pastoralbriefe*, 32.

³⁷ Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 44-45, followed by Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 131. Yet Dibelius/Conzelmann argue somewhat differently from Bartsch, suggesting that 2:9ff apply to worship a general rule regarding women.

³⁸ *Hom. VIII*, PG 62, 540.

to pray in precisely the way that the men have just been directed to [...]. Accordingly they as much as the men were obliged to participate in the Christian liturgy, to raise their holy hands in prayer, [...] to quench personal anger and quarrelsomeness”.³⁹

This solution is not implausible. It is supported by the otherwise enigmatic ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, which most likely refers to all worship places in any local community (household church),⁴⁰ indicating that the subsequent clauses describe attitudes at prayer, in general, in agreement with the universal perspective in vv. 1-2.⁴¹ Bartsch thinks that this often overlooked clause is meant to strengthen the cultic rule.⁴²

The question is whether one should supply the whole subordinate clause from v. 8 or only its first part (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας). If one opts for the first possibility, vv. 9 (ἐν καταστολῇ κτλ.) and 10 do not have a counterpart in v. 8 and the structure is very unbalanced. In the second option, part of the requirements are gender-specific: men are expected to refrain from anger and debates, women from excessive beautification.⁴³ This option may be the more likely, for reasons of composition (balanced structure) and of content. This could mean an expansion of the cultic rule with χωρὶς ὀργῆς κτλ. in v. 8, and ἐν καταστολῇ κτλ. in v. 9, both stemming from a station code tradition.

1.2.3. *Supplying βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι*

The two previous solutions offer valuable insights which deserve attention. The first points to the merger of sources and genres, the second offers a

³⁹) Quinn, Wacker, *Timothy*, 194, 215.

⁴⁰) Spicq, *Épîtres* I, 372; Quinn, Wacker, *Timothy*, 209 rightly argue for “place” as “holy place” based on biblical and extra-biblical texts. For every worship place opt Fee, *1-2 Timothy*, 34; Knight, *Timothy*, 128; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 270 as well. The broadest sense of wherever men pray, in and outside worship-places is improbable because of the context, where public and not individual prayers and intercessions are envisaged.

⁴¹) Παρακαλῶ... πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις... ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων... καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων, cf. v. 4: ὅς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι and v. 6: ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων. This connection is supported by Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 87 (cf. Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 56), who emphasises that the general requirement of prayer is theologically grounded in the universality of the divine saving will (2:4-6), and is connected to the universal character of the intercessions (2:1-2): “Beten muß immer und überall so erfolgen. Doch dieses ‘überall’ hat ein theologisches Fundament im universalen Heilswillen Gottes.”

⁴²) Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 47, cf. 48-49.

⁴³) Spicq, *Épîtres* I, 371, 375; Collins, *Timothy*, 67.

reasonable interpretation of the parallel. However, they also create their own difficulties (the conjecture and the unbalanced structure). Therefore two other readings are presented here, that may be regarded as variants of the same structure. There is no need to alter the text, and in both prayer is implied.

Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ
ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χειῖρας
χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ.

ὥσαύτως [βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι] [καὶ] γυναῖκας
ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ
μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς,
μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ,
ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

This reading reveals a number of quite remarkable similarities between vv. 8 and 9-10 in terms of structure and thematic thrust. Both parts deal with instructions concerning the way in which men and women should pray. In both a prepositional phrase in the dative (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ / ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ) defines a general condition. There follow more concrete requirements about the manner of praying, detailed in a positive (ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χειῖρας / μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς) and in a negative way (χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ / μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ).

The two parts are not absolutely parallel of course. A participle is used in v. 8 (ἐπαίροντας) and an infinitive in v. 9 (κοσμεῖν). Though formally corresponding to ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ does not have exactly the same function, since it qualifies the manner of praying, while ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ either defines the location or emphasises the general character of the rule. (Yet this difference is not removed by supplying merely βούλομαι). Subsequently, ἐπαίροντας refers to προσεύχεσθαι directly, while μετὰ αἰδοῦς κτλ. does so only indirectly, as a further qualification of ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ. The qualification is expressed with an adjective in v. 8 (ὁσίος), and with two substantives functioning adverbially in v. 9 (μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης). The negative clauses apparently have a different object, rebuking inward attitude in men and outward appearance in women. But the latter is criticised precisely as an expression of an inner, morally wrong attitude. The negative clause in v. 9 (μὴ ἐν κτλ.) is obviously

much more elaborate (four types of adornment are listed) than its counterpart in v. 8 (χωρίς with double qualification). But the list of four qualifications in v. 9 could also be read as a sort of double qualification connected by καί (referring to hairdo *and* adornment), of which the second part is further elaborated into a triplet (with double ἥ). The admonition to men has a close parallel in Phil 2:14 (χωρίς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν)⁴⁴ and can also be compared to 1 Tim 5:21 (χωρὶς προκρίματος μηδὲν . . . πρόσκλινιν). The final clause in v. 10 has no counterpart in v. 8, but represents the necessary complement in a μὴ . . . ἀλλά construction.

Thus the requirements are formulated differently, but they take a similar place in the overall structure of the passage, and in both cases one finds an association between outward gesture and inward disposition.

Alternatively, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης and κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς could also be taken with ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ and with μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν κτλ. respectively:

Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ
ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας
χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ.

ὡσαύτως [βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι] [καὶ] γυναῖκας
ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης
κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ
πολυτελεῖ,
ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελιομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

This reading differs from the previous one in only one issue, the position of μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης with respect to κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς. But the function of this latter phrase remains the same. In both readings κοσμεῖν functions as an exegetical infinitive, explaining the prepositional phrase ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ κτλ.,⁴⁵ either in an outright positive (μετὰ αἰδοῦς

⁴⁴ The negative clause is offered a positive counterpart in v. 15, including multiple qualifications: ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμομα.

⁴⁵ The exegetical infinitive can be used to show not only the intention but also the manner of accomplishing something, or again to explain a noun (as in Eph 3:4-6 where εἶναι defines μυστήριον), or an adjective (2 Tim 1:12: δύνάτος . . . φυλάξαι). See G.B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (Leipzig, 1867) 298ff, 306. See also C.G. Wilke, *Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik* (Dresden/Leipzig, 1843) 166-167; F. Blass,

καὶ σωφροσύνης) or in a positive and a negative way (as part of the μή... ἄλλά clause).⁴⁶

Cukrowski argues that the reading with βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι cannot work because it leaves the two infinitives disconnected. But this is not the case: προσεύχεσθαι and κοσμεῖν are not on the same level. They do not define two coordinate clauses, but belong to the main and the subordinate clause, respectively, therefore they do not have to be connected by καί.

2. 1 Cor 11:3-15 as Pre-Text of 1 Tim 2:8-15

Many authors find a striking resemblance between 1 Tim 2:8-15 and 1 Cor 14:34-35, and with good reason.⁴⁷ Yet there are not many to offer a detailed discussion of the similarities between 1 Tim 2:8-15 and 1 Cor 11:3-15. Some authors argue for a clear textual parallel,⁴⁸ or notice the thematic similarities.⁴⁹ The function of 1 Cor 11:2ff as pre-text for 1 Tim 2:13 is discussed by A. Merz. However, her excellent intertextual analysis deals with the prohibition of teaching and its legitimation from creation and fall, and she does not focus primarily on 1 Cor 11:5-6.⁵⁰ Others establish various degrees of connection, but mostly reflect on the

A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* ([BDR]; ¹⁴1976) 324 (§394). A relevant example is Acts 3:18, where παθεῖν defines the content of ὁ προκατήγγειλεν. In Rom 1:28 the infinitive depends on a prepositional phrase, as in 1 Tim 2:9 (παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς... εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, explained by ποιεῖν).

⁴⁶ The construction with μή following the verb has a parallel in John 6:27 (with an imperative: ἐργάζεσθε μή... ἄλλά) and 1 Cor 5:8 (with a subjunctive, there too in a prepositional phrase). Moulton-Geden explicitly cite 1 Tim 2:9 as an example for μή following an infinitive (W.F. Moulton, A.S. Geden, *Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, ed. I.H. Marshall [London/New York, ⁶2002, 696], their category 3). The choice for μή instead of οὐ(κ)... ἄλλά allows for the particle to deny a possibility (οὐ is used to deny a fact), and is not uncommon in later Greek. See Winer, *Grammatik*, 441; BDR, 357 (§429.1); LSJ, s.v. μή (D); BDAG, s.v. μή.

⁴⁷ Cf. Roloff, *1 Tim*, 128-130; Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 93; Ph.B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1Cor 14.34-5", *NTS* 41 (1995) 240-262 (248-249); Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 334-339; Towner, *Letters*, 193-194, 215, and many others.

⁴⁸ Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 65.

⁴⁹ See the analogy established by Liefeld, *Tim-Tit*, 95, 109-110; Küchler, *Schweigen*, 76; Spicq, *Épîtres I*, 371, 376, 378-380, 386-387; Towner, *Letters*, 218 (evidence for prophesy-ing, 226-227).

⁵⁰ Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 339-343.

common argumentation from Genesis.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the intertextual approach shows that 1 Tim knew and used 1 Cor 11:3-15 and its co(n)text, reinterpreting it in a restrictive manner. The evidence comes from the similarities between the two texts and their co-text. There is an obvious thematic parallel between the two passages, reinforced by a number of verbal connections. Thus both formulate rules regarding the way men and women have to pray in the community, and they combine regulations referring to prayer and outfit. Both legitimate the regulations with arguments from the creation account(s) and from social conventions. Moreover, the immediate context is very similarly structured and brings in a number of keywords which will have an important function for the (re)interpretation carried on by 1 Tim.

2.1 *The Co-Text of 1 Cor 11:3-15 and 1 Tim 2:8-15*

1 Cor 11 is part of a larger section dealing with public worship. The same context is asserted by most commentators for 1 Tim 2:1-10(15). The latter deliberately took over not only the topic of public prayer and regulations concerning men and women, but also adopted and adapted a number of concepts from the context, conveying a new meaning to the pre-text. A look at the co(n)text is highly important, as it reveals additional elements of intertextuality and points to the restrictive reinterpretation of Paul, with a reference to Paul's words, his name and his authority. This procedure is described by A. Merz as "fictitious self-reference", and is meant to offer a *relecture* of the pre-text and to eliminate other, competing interpretations of Paul.⁵²

In 1 Corinthians, the cultic rule in 11:4-7a is preceded by a discussion on alimentary rules (10:25-30). In this context Paul makes his case calling attention to three ideas: conscience (συνείδησις) is the governing authority, unjust criticism should be rejected as βλασφημία, and his ministry serves the universal salvation plan. Further, the cultic rule itself is intro-

⁵¹ Hanson mentions 1 Cor 11:8-12 as parallel for 1 Tim 3:13-14, especially referring to the inherent gullibility of the woman (*Studies*, 65-66). Roloff admits that 1 Tim has used the argumentation regarding man's priority in creation, but parallels only 1 Tim 2:11-15 with 1 Cor 14:34-36 (1 Tim, 129-130).

⁵² Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 231-232, 333-334; cf. ead., "Fictitious Self-Exposition of Paul: How Might Intertextual Theory Suggest a Reformulation of the Hermeneutics of Pseudo-epigraphy", in Th.L. Brodie, D.R. MacDonald, S.E. Porter (eds.), *The Intertextuality of the Epistles. Explorations of Theory and Practice* (New Testament Monographs 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006) 113-132.

duced by an assertion of Paul's apostolic authority. These four concepts (συνείδησις, βλασφημία, Paul's role in the universal plan of salvation, and his authority) immediately precede the cultic rule in 1 Tim 2 as well, therefore their meaning in 1 Cor needs to be discussed.

In 1 Cor 10 Paul argues that Christians should not have a troubled conscience (μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν, vv. 25, 27), by consuming meat that might come from pagan sacrifices, nor by partaking in meals with non-believers.⁵³ The emphasis is on the freedom of conscience, certainly without disregarding the need to prevent scandal.⁵⁴ While being aware of this requirement, Paul adds in v. 29b: ἵνατί γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης συνειδήσεως. Although rules should govern worship and every day life, these rules should leave space for personal freedom, since conscience is the internal authority that in certain cases can overwrite external rules. The idea of possessing an ability to make personal judgments about what is right or wrong will be taken up again in 11:13 (ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς κρίνατε), and even the authoritative introduction of the cultic rule in 11:13 implies a demand for personal consent (θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι).⁵⁵ Even if Paul makes authoritative assertions, and his appeal is rather theoretical, he invites his readers to think with him.

After asserting the freedom of conscience and the respect for others' sensitivity, Paul rhetorically asks why is he vilified (τὶ βλασφημοῦμαι;) when he partakes in such meals with thankfulness, i.e. implicitly without being blamed by his conscience (v. 30). The question could be interpreted as an appeal to abstinence for the sake of those who could be scandalised, but it is more likely to stress freedom and rejection of this unjust denigration (βλασφημία), as suggested by the following verse ("whether you eat or drink", not "whether you eat or do not eat", cf. also v. 25). Therefore, although Paul pays attention to the conscience of the other, he qualifies the criticism of (his / a Christian's) freedom, which in certain cases might go against the rules, as βλασφημία.⁵⁶

⁵³ A. Lindemann rightly distinguishes between the meaning/belonging of συνείδησις in vv. 25, 27 and 29a respectively (*Der erste Korintherbrief* [HNT 9/I; Tübingen: Mohr, 2000] 231, 233). Pace W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKK VII/2; Solothurn-Düsseldorf-Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner, 1995) 466.

⁵⁴ Schrage, *1 Kor*, 2, 461-473.

⁵⁵ Although commonly translated as "(I want you) to know", (θέλω ὑμᾶς) εἰδέναι implies not simply becoming acquainted with a matter, but also understanding and recognition (BDAG, s.v. οἶδα).

⁵⁶ Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 234: "Wenn der Christ mit Dank an Gott die Mahlzeit zu sich nimmt [...] besteht objektiv kein Grund, ihn dafür zu kritisieren (βλασφημεῖν)."

This discussion on rules, conscience and freedom is connected with the thought of universal salvation, expressed by Paul's concern for the whole church, reaching even towards the outsiders (vv. 32-33). In this context, Paul emphasises his personal, selfless example: he is a minister of salvation, and his only concern is the benefit of all, for the sake of their salvation (10:33: καθὼς καὶ γὰρ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ σύμφορον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἵνα σωθῶσιν). His example should be followed by the community, just as Paul himself is an *imitator of Christ* (11:1).

This statement is followed by an assertion of Paul's authority, based on the fact that he transmits the παραδόσις (11:1-2). This apostolic authority allows Paul to formulate or reinterpret rules regulating the life of the community.

It is noteworthy that the co-text of 1 Tim 2:8-10 takes up the same key-concepts (συνείδησις, βλασφημέω, universal salvation, Paul's example and authority), in the same chain of thought, but while changing their meaning.

Just before introducing the section on prayer in ch. 2, "Paul", in a renewed empowering of "Timothy",⁵⁷ commands him to hold faith, in accordance with what has been entrusted to him, and a good conscience (ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις, 1:19). Vv. 18-19 resume the commissioning articulated in vv. 3-5.⁵⁸ For the PE faith, basically understood as faithfulness to the sound doctrine, finds its expression in attachment to a morally right lifestyle and in proper religious practice,⁵⁹ whereas false teachers and their adepts are deeply vicious.⁶⁰ Under these circumstances the intimate link between faith and lifestyle, both assuring a good conscience, becomes obvious. "Timothy's" commissioning, strengthened by apostolic authority, introduces the whole ecclesial rule in chs. 2-3 and confers a special weight to the cultic order that follows immediately after. Moreover, in this context, ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις is both a consequence and a sign of one's conform-

⁵⁷) Vv. 18-19, cf. Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 51-56; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 406.

⁵⁸) Here ἀγάπη is omitted, since in the context of combat (v. 20) it becomes less appropriate. Thus Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 55, who rightly defines ἡ καλὴ στρατεία as combat for the sound doctrine and against false teachers.

⁵⁹) See the cultic-ethical rules regarding men/women in 1 Tim 2, cf. Tit 2:2-6, the mirror of the ἐπίσκοπος and διακόνος in 1 Tim 3 (cf. Tit 1:6-8), the instructions to Timothy (1 Tim 5:6-8, 12; 6:11-14; 2 Tim 2:22-23; 4:10-14) and Titus (Tit 2:1, 7-8); the connection between truth and godliness in Tit 1:1. Note also the appeal to deacons in 1 Tim 3:9 to hold to the mystery of faith with καθαρὰ συνείδησις. For a comparison of συνείδησις in Paul and the PE, see Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 217-227, 412.

⁶⁰) Cf. 1 Tim 1:8-10; 6:3-5; 2 Tim 1:15; 3:2-9.13; Tit 1:12. 16; 3:9-11.

ity to doctrinal and community rules, not of one's freedom from any such rules.

Interestingly enough βλασφημέω appears also in 1 Tim 1:20. Immediately after the reference to the good conscience, βλασφημέω characterises the attitude of Hymenaeus and Alexander as persons who have rejected good conscience (ἦν τινες ἀπώσάμενοι, v. 19), and have made shipwreck of their faith. If we take into account that ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις is both consequence and sign of conformity to doctrinal and congregational rules, these paradigmatic persons represent the opposite position of that described in vv. 18-19a,⁶¹ i.e. non-adherence to sound doctrine and to the rules which result from it. In 1 Cor Paul, as paradigmatic Christian, is right, although he breaks the rules, and his conscience correctly approves his decision to do so. Thus the criticism of his opponents about not holding to the rules is an unjust accusation, qualified as βλασφημία. Conversely, in 1 Tim 1:20 those who break the rules are rightly accused of βλασφημία, and their rejection of doctrinal and/or congregational rules means a rejection of good conscience and implicitly of faith, with utmost dramatic consequences. Subsequently the combined intertextual reference to Paul through συνείδησις and βλασφημέω is meant to emphasise what could be regarded as the opposite of 1 Cor 10:27-31, an appeal to strict adherence to doctrinal and community rules instead of freedom of conscience.

Further, in 2:1-7 "Paul" urges "Timothy" to make prayers for all men, including the civil authorities, so that Christians may live a quiet and peaceful life in godliness and propriety. This is good in the eyes of the saviour God, who wishes the salvation of all men (τοῦτο καλὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, ὃς πάντα ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν, vv. 3-4). In 1 Tim the situation has changed. Paul is no longer amongst them as a model to be imitated. The universal perspective is preserved, but the emphasis is not on the imitation of Paul's example, but on his paradigmatic character and his authority, received from Christ himself (εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κῆρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος, 2:7). The commissioning of the apostle in v. 7 takes up again the longer version in 1:12-16 that strongly emphasises the paradigmatic nature of Paul's absolution and mission. Paul is not only the exemplary sinner who has found

⁶¹ The question of these characters' historicity and their possible identity with those mentioned in 2 Tim 2:17 and 4:14 is outside the scope of this paper. Whether historical false teachers, or paradigmatic characters (see Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 56-57), they embody the rejection of sound doctrine and implicitly of good conscience.

mercy, but also the manifestation of God's universal saving will, and this confers him a particular authority. While in 1 Cor Paul can still offer himself as an example of selfless endeavour in the service of universal salvation, in 1 Tim he becomes a paradigmatic presence. He has experienced God's universal saving will. Subsequently he has become a herald of this saving will that can be received in the ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας,⁶² and now his apostolic authority is mediated by "Timothy".

One additional change should be noted. While Paul's universal concern, expressed in 1 Cor 10:32-33, is motivated solely by his desire to be an instrument of salvation, in 1 Tim 2:1-7 this concern (prayers for everyone) is not only an expression of God's all-embracing saving will, but has the clear purpose to secure the quiet, peaceful and godly life of the community. This is a major concern for the PE, reflecting the ideal of "good citizenship", in the perspective of a remote parousia.⁶³

2.2 *The Cultic Rule*

2.2.1. *Fundament: The Authority of the Apostle*

Both the cultic regulations in 1 Cor 11:4-7a and those in 1 Tim 2:8-10 are introduced by a clear statement on the speaker's authority. Thus 1 Cor 11:3 relies on the preceding exhortation to follow the example of the apostle (v. 1), and on the commendation of the community for having preserved the tradition delivered to them by Paul (v. 2). This introductory remark conveys a special weight to what follows. This reference is followed by the authoritative θέλω. The κεφαλή argument serves as authoritative introduction and fundament for the subsequent cultic rule.

The cultic rule in 1 Tim 2:8-10 in its turn relies on the authority of the apostle, introduced in 1:18, where "Timothy" is entrusted with the παραγγελία.⁶⁴ The apostolic authority is mentioned once again in 2:7:

⁶² The meaning of ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας as appropriation of the doctrinal truths is rightly recognised by H. Von Lips, *Glaube-Gemeinde-Amt: Zum Verständnis der Ordination in den Pastoralbriefen* (FRLANT 122; Göttingen: V&R, 1979) 32-40, followed by Wagener, *Ordnung*, 97. This reinforces the authoritative thrust of the context.

⁶³ Rightly so Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 39-40, notwithstanding criticism. It could also reflect an attempt to cope with persecutions (Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 81, following Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 286).

⁶⁴ For the interrelation between παρατίθημι and παραγγελία; and for the continuity in tradition, expressed by Timothy's designation as τέκνον (cf. also 1:2), see Roloff, *1 Tim*, 101.

“Paul” has been appointed herald, apostle and teacher of the nations, directly by Christ (cf. vv. 5-6). Moreover, Christ is described in his relationship to God, as sole mediator, therefore God is the source of Christ’s authority. Following this preamble, the cultic rule is introduced by the powerful βούλομαι.

However, authority is conceived in a somewhat different manner. 1 Cor 11:3, 13 implies an invitation to think with Paul, a participation of reason in the acknowledgment of the rules, which softens somewhat the authoritative θέλω.⁶⁵ Moreover, Paul’s authority is not absolute, but he possesses it inasmuch as he is himself an imitator of Christ, and therefore refers to Christ.⁶⁶ He is an element in the chain of transmission of what he himself has received. Therefore his demands are authoritative insofar as they are handed down to him (11:2, cf. 15:3). In 1 Tim Paul’s authority is immediate and complete: he has been directly appointed by Christ. The language of power does not allow for reasoning or questions. M. Wolter remarks that his authority derives from his quality of being the first to be saved, and this priority makes him an archetype, not an example (“Urbild”, not “Vorbild”).⁶⁷

2.2.2. *Praying and Prophesying*

Both 1 Cor 11:4-7a⁶⁸ and 1 Tim 2:8-10⁶⁹ regulate the behaviour of men and women at worship.

⁶⁵ Thus rightly Schrage, *1 Kor*, 2, 498: “Mit einem Imp. Aor. appelliert Paulus in V 13 an die Urteilsfähigkeit der Adressaten.”

⁶⁶ Cf. Schrage: “dieses Mal ist Paulus Vorbild darin, daß er selbst ein Vorbild hat: Christus” (*1 Kor*, 2, 466-467).

⁶⁷ M. Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition* (Göttingen: V&R, 1988) 53, 56-57.

⁶⁸ Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 68 sees in 11:3 a reference to a well-established rule. See also H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (KEK; Göttingen: V&R, ²1981) 222; G. Dautzenberg, *Urchristliche Prophetie. Ihre Erforschung, ihre Voraussetzungen im Judentum und ihre Struktur im ersten Korintherbrief* (BWANT 104; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975) 268: “eine Gemeindeordnung, welche charismatisches Reden vor der Gemeinde, Beten und Prophezeien kennt, und [...] Männer und Frauen zu Wort kommen läßt”. For Schrage, 1 Cor 11:2 introduces the section dealing with questions related to worship, extending to the end of ch. 14. Prayer and prophecy are a synecdoche defining worship, and Paul formulates rules for women’s appearance at prayer and prophesying (*1 Kor*, 2, 436-448, esp. 487, 505, 507). See also F. Watson, “The Authority of the Voice: Reading of 1 Cor 11,2-16”, *NTS* 46 (2000) 520-536 (525).

⁶⁹ Some object that the moral requirements addressed to men and women are generally compelling and do not refer only to public worship. E.g. Holmes (*Text*, 90-97 passim)

According to 1 Cor 11:4-7a worship involves not only prayer, but also prophesying, for both men and women. The requirements are formulated in a parallel manner (vv. 4-5):

πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων
πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα.⁷⁰

In light of ch. 14, prophecy is a form of public, religious authoritative speech.⁷¹ Prophecy is a gift that provides edification, encouragement and comfort to others (ὁ προφητεύων ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ οἰκοδομὴν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν, 3b). Moreover, prophecy edifies the church (4b, cf. v. 5). Because compared to tongues prophecy is an intelligible, edifying form of instruction, Paul states his preference: ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω (v. 19).⁷² This assertion proves not only the communitarian aspect of prophesying, but its character of instruction as well (cf. also vv. 26-31). This dimension of teaching/instruction as an unambiguous function of prophecy is also affirmed in 14:31, where Paul encourages all to prophecy: ἵνα πάντες μαθηθῶσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται. These considerations are important for the way we read 1 Cor 11:4-5.

In 1 Cor 11 the issue is not praying or prophesying as such, but the way one behaves in doing so. There is no consensus on what exactly Paul means by κατακαλύπτω in v. 6, said of women, and κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων⁷³ in v. 4 referring to men. According to a common interpretation women have to be veiled.⁷⁴ Yet κάλυμμα does not appear in the text. Conversely, based on

rejects the congregational context, up to the point of suggesting that given the morphological choices (διδάσκειν, αὐθέντειν in pres. inf.) the text refers to an ongoing “nagging” of men by women, not to authoritative teaching. The interpretation is unconvincing. Moreover the general validity of moral principles is not an impediment for formulating specific expectations with respect to behaviour at worship.

⁷⁰ Προσεύχομαι τῷ θεῷ is used once more in v. 13.

⁷¹ For prophecy as authoritative speech: Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 240, 297, 299.

⁷² For the understandable character of prophecy as edification and instruction (contrasted to glossolalia), see Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 240, 297-300, 310; U. Luz, “Stages of Early Christian Prophecy”, *Sacra Scripta* 5.1 (2007) 45-62 (53-54).

⁷³ Κατὰ followed by a genitive is a “marker of extension or orientation in space or specific area [hanging down from the head]”, BDAG, s.v.

⁷⁴ Küchler, *Schweigen*, 73-74, 92-96; Johnson, *Timothy*, 206; J. Delobel, “1 Cor 11,2-16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation”, in A. Vanhoye (ed.), *L'apôtre Paul : Personnalité, style*

the references to hair in vv. 6.14-15, several authors think that the regulation actually concerns hairdo, and that the main issue is rather that of assuming gender roles, as suggested by the argument from nature in v. 14.⁷⁵ A number of early Christian readers supplied κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων with κόμη,⁷⁶ but nonetheless regarded the demand concerning women as referring to veiling.⁷⁷ Whatever the case may be,⁷⁸ it is obvious that public prayer and prophesying, performed by both men and women, is connected to requirements regarding an appropriate appearance.

In 1 Tim 2:8-10 men are explicitly instructed to pray with the appropriate spiritual attitude. The discussion of the ellipsis has shown that the demand addressed to women is more ambiguous. Nonetheless, supplying βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι allows for interpreting vv. 9-10 as referring to women at prayer. Now only prayer is in view: prophesying is not mentioned. However, in vv. 11-12 there is a reference to teaching as a form of authoritative speech: women are exhorted to learn (μανθάνω) in full submission⁷⁹ and are forbidden to teach or exert authority over men.⁸⁰

When comparing the expectations in 1 Tim 2:8-10 with those in 1 Cor 11:4-7a, some key-words and themes from 1 Cor are repeated, but

et conception du ministère (BETL 73; Leuven: Peeters, 1986) 369-389; Watson, "Authority", 522.

⁷⁵ Schrage, *1 Kor*, 2, 492-494, 505-509; H.-J. Klauck, *1. Korintherbrief* (NEB.NT; Würzburg: Echter, 1984) 80-81; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, in R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer, R.E. Murphy (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990) 798-815 (808-809); Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 240-241. Cf. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, ²1990) 230 (hairdo not as a gender-specific symbol, but as a sign of women's prophetic authority).

⁷⁶ Chrysostom, *In Epist. I ad Cor. Homil. XXVI*, PG 61, 213, 217; Theophylact, *Expositio in Epistolam I ad Corinthios*, PG 124, 696AB. None of them assumes that the same type of rule should be understood as referring to both men and women.

⁷⁷ Some mss (vg^{mss}; Ptol^{lr}) and a number of patristic witnesses read *velamen* / κάλλυμα instead of ἑξουσία (²⁷NA and the note in WH 2, 116).

⁷⁸ Others leave both possibilities open: Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 340.

⁷⁹ On the PE's scorn of women's useless endeavour to learn, and the meaning of μανθάνειν: Wagener, *Ordnung*, 96-97; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 285-286.

⁸⁰ Merz correctly shows that the very act of teaching men by women was seen in antiquity as an illegitimate exercise of authority (*Selbstausslegung*, 294); see also Wagener, *Ordnung*, 75-76. Pace Köstenberger, "A Complex Sentence Structure in 1 Timothy 2,12", in Köstenberger *et al.*, *Women*, 81-103, whose detailed analysis is overshadowed by an aprioristic wish to prove that with οὐδέ Paul forbids women to exert two intrinsically positive, fundamentally different acts.

in a noteworthy manner, implying omissions and expansions, as well as the re-interpretation of the recurring themes.⁸¹

Both texts address the issue of prayer in the context of public worship. Πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων in 1 Cor 11:4 can be paralleled with προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας in 1 Tim 2:8. If προσεύχεσθαι is supplied in 1 Tim 2:9, the reading parallels πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα of 1 Cor 11:5.⁸²

An additional link between the two texts is created by the interconnection between prayer and the appropriate outward appearance at worship. Some suggest that the phrase ὁσίους χειράς in 1 Tim 2:8 could also refer to a symbolic physical purity.⁸³ Vv. 9-10 extensively discuss women's appearance, with reference to respectable apparel and to the way they should (not) wear their hair (μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν). These motifs recall the regulation regarding feminine (hair)wear in 1 Cor 11:5-6, 13, 15. Another verbal and thematic link is realised by the requirement of a worthy manner of adorning (ὁ πρέπει, 1 Tim 2:10), which corresponds to Paul's rhetorical question in 1 Cor 11:13 (πρέπον ἐστίν;).⁸⁴ One could object that 1 Tim 2:10 refers only metaphorically to adornment, actually envisaging a moral attitude, but vv. 9b-10 clearly touch upon the manner of dressing. On the other hand, both texts regulate the outward appearance as manifestation of a morally fitting or inappropriate attitude.

A very strong link between the two texts is realised by the theological legitimization of the cultic rule, a matter that will be addressed below (2.2.3).

Beside the clear thematic and verbal connections, there are obvious differences as well. The most striking difference is the absence of prophecy.

⁸¹ Comparing 1 Cor 11:2-16 and 14:33b-36, Dautzenberg (*Prophetie*, 268-273) suggested that they represent two different types of community rule, an earlier, charismatic-Pauline one, and a later one, marked by Jewish (Hellenistic Jewish-Christian) influences, which would also be reflected in 1 Tim 2:11f. Yet, the silencing of women as specific (Hellenistic) Jewish rule is questioned by the evidence of women in leadership in Hellenistic Jewish communities: B.J. Broton, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue* (Brown Jewish Studies 36; Atlanta, GA, 1982) 32, 35-99, passim; P.W. van der Horst, "The Jews of Ancient Crete", in id., *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context. Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity* (WUNT 196; Tübingen: Mohr, 2006) 12-27 (25-27); Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 95, n. 45. Ancient Greek literature abounds with texts restricting women's public speech.

⁸² Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 65; Liefeld, *Tim-Tit*, 95, 109-110.

⁸³ As suggested by Spicq, *Épîtres* I, 373; Collins, *Timothy*, 66. This meaning is debatable.

⁸⁴ Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 68 relates it to Tit 2:3, considering that both are to be understood on the background of 1 Cor 11:13.

In 1 Tim 2:8 men are no longer supposed to prophesy. Prophecy basically disappears from the PE.⁸⁵ The cognate προφητείας appears twice in 1 Tim (1:18; 4:14), in both cases in relation with “Timothy’s” institution/“ordination” as successor of Paul and defender of the sound doctrine. (A prophet appears once in the PE, in Tit 1:12, in a rather negative context). This “institutionalisation” of prophecy goes together with the omission of prophesying as a gift or attribution of regular members of the community, let them be even men.

For women, what was still obvious for Paul in 1 Cor 11:5, 13, has become either ambiguous (prayer), or inconceivable (prophecy) in 1 Tim 2. Since 1 Cor 14:19, 31 describes prophecy as a form of authoritative speech and instruction, which provides the possibility to learn (μανθάνω), it is probable that the exhortation addressed to women to learn in silence, paralleled by the prohibition to teach or exercise authority over men in 1 Tim 2:11-12 is a fictitious self-reference and self-correction, excluding women from any form of public authoritative speech and correcting Paul’s permissive attitude toward women prophesying.

A particular problem arises with respect to the subject of prophesying and learning in 1 Cor 11 and 14, and the relationship of these texts with 1 Tim 2:11-12. In 1 Cor 11:5 it is obvious that women prophesy. Further, according to 14:31, all are allowed to prophesy: they only need to respect a certain order, so that everyone may learn and receive encouragement. Hence there is an obvious reciprocity in both prophesying/instructing and learning. This reciprocity is nonetheless denied in 14:34-35, expecting women to keep silent. The latter text has striking semantic and thematic similarities with 1 Tim 2:11-12 that have been explained in various ways.⁸⁶ Based on text- and literary-critical arguments and on the contrast to 1 Cor

⁸⁵) Rightly Roloff, *1 Tim*, 102.

⁸⁶) Several scholars convincingly argue for the literary dependence of 1 Tim 2:11-12 on 1 Cor 14:34-35 (Roloff, *1 Tim*, 128-130; Wagener, *Ordnung*, 94-96; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 334-339). Those who plead for the authenticity of 1 Cor 14:34-35 often assume two different Pauline regulations: Towner, *Letters*, 194; Witherington, *Letters*, 221-222, and even Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 439-441 (though an adept of allonymity). A few think that 1 Cor 14:34-35 is more restrictive than 1 Tim 2:11-12, e.g. Dautzenberg, *Prophetie*, 258-260 (but his argumentation is not convincing). K. Thraede regards the interpolation in 1 Cor later than 1 Tim 2; both reflect a restrictive post-Pauline tradition (*Ärger mit der Freiheit. Die Bedeutung von Frauen in Theorie und Praxis der alten Kirche*, in G. Scharffenorth, K. Thraede, *Freunde in Christus werden... : Die Beziehung von Mann und Frau als Frage an Theologie und Kirche* [Gelnhausen: Burkhardhaus, 1977] 112, cf. 109).

11:5 and the rest of 1 Cor 14, a significant number of scholars regard vv. 34-35 as an early interpolation, probably by the time when the Corpus Paulinum was edited.⁸⁷ A few defend their authenticity, either because no manuscript omits these verses, the text-critical evidence for an interpolation being regarded as unconvincing,⁸⁸ or because of a certain understanding of inspiration.⁸⁹

The debate within scholarship regarding the authenticity and interpretation of 1 Cor 14:34-35 shows not only the contradiction between this text and 11:5, but also the fact that the scope of silencing is differently understood. Those scholars who regard the verses as Pauline, but nonetheless perceive the tension with 11:5, tend to limit the prohibition to disrespectful intervention of Corinthian women during the service.⁹⁰ Precisely

⁸⁷ J. Weiß, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (KEK 5; Göttingen: V&R, 1910) 342; Thraede, *Ärger*, 111-112; Ch. Senft, *La première Épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (CNT II.VII; Lausanne/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1979) 182-183; Dautzenberg, *Prophetie*, 257-273; Conzelmann, *1 Kor*, 298-299; Payne, "Fuldensis", 240-262; id., "Ms. 88 as Evidence for a Text without 1 Cor 14.34-5", *NTS* 44.1 (1998) 152-158; Ph. Payne / P. Canart, "The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus", *NT* 42 (2000) 105-113; Payne, "The Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with a Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Response to J. Edward Miller", *JSNT* 27.1 (2004) 105-112; G. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 699-705; Schrage, *1 Kor*, 3, 458, 479-492 and the quoted literature; Klauck, *1 Kor*, 107-108; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *1 Kor*, 811-812, cf. id., *1 Corinthians* (NTM 10; Dublin, 1979) 133; R.B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Interpretation; Louisville, KY, 1997) 245-249; Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 93-94; W.O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Epistles* (JSNTSup 213; Sheffield: Sheffield AP, 2001) 63-90; Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 316-321; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 335-336; F. Watson, "The Authority of the Voice", 520-536 (525); J.E. Epp, *Junia The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005) 15-19.

⁸⁸ C. Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor 14.34-5", *NTS* 43 (1997) 242-255; J.E. Miller, "Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus with a Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35", *JSNT* 26.2 (2003) 217-236, but they often misrepresent Payne's position. See also E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Memory*, 230-233.

⁸⁹ A. Robertson, A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1911) 324-325 (1 Cor 11:5 only hypothetical); C.T. Craig, J. Short, *1 Corinthians* (The Interpreter's Bible X; New York, 1953) 3-262 (212-213); W.H. Mare, *1 Corinthians* (The Expositor's Bible Commentary X, Grand Rapids, 1976), 276-277. Yet a number of authors seem to be undecided: F.F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (New Century Bible; London, 1971) 135; cf. W.F. Orr, J.A. Walther, *1 Corinthians* (AB; New York, 1976) 313: unless Paul is contradicting himself, or the verses are an interpolation.

⁹⁰ Schüssler Fiorenza, *Memory*, 230-233 (a limited prohibition addressed to wives publicly commenting on men's utterances); J. Kremer, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (RNT;

this choice to limit the interdiction to inconsiderate (small)talk, without applying it to teaching/prophesying, indicates that the text could have been liable from the beginning (even when an interpolation) to less restrictive interpretations. Thus one could assume that the author of 1 Tim has attempted to interpret this text in a restrictive and unequivocal manner, leaving no doubt about the full exclusion of women from public ministry and teaching.⁹¹ Yet other scholars who regard 1 Cor 14:34-35 as inauthentic, based on the obvious verbal and thematic similarities with 1 Tim 2:9-15, argue even that both texts could stem from the same or a similar patriarchal-misogynistic circle.⁹²

At any rate, 1 Tim 2:8-15 clearly narrows down the possibilities that are still open in 1 Cor 11. This is particularly true for women, but to a certain degree for men as well.

2.2.3. Legitimation

2.2.3.1 Theological Legitimation

In 1 Cor 11:3-16 Paul legitimises the rules regulating male and female appearance at public worship by the κεφαλή symbolism and by a double reference to Gen in vv. 7 and 9.

The meaning of his first argument (v. 3) is a matter of debate. A common interpretation of the κεφαλή metaphor asserts the subordination of the woman. Nonetheless, a number of authors suggest that Paul simply alludes to Gen 2, stating that the man is the source of the woman's existence.⁹³ Yet, even mere precedence in creation may suggest a hierarchical relationship between man and woman.

Regensburg, 1997) 312 (disturbing speech); Chr. Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (ThHKNT 7; Berlin, 22000) 341-346; Towner, *Letters*, 215 (particular forms of speech, e.g. unrestricted interpretation of tongues or prophecy, or interaction with men). The attempt to mitigate the prohibition is unconvincing.

⁹¹ Thus Roloff, *1 Tim*, 128-130; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 334-339.

⁹² Conzelmann, *1 Kor*, 299; Dautzenberg, *Prophetie*, 272; Hays, *1 Cor*, 247; Schrage, *1 Kor* (EKK VII/3), 486-487, 490; Murphy-O'Connor, *1 Cor*, 811; Lindemann, *1 Kor*, 318-319. An alternative to this position is represented by Bartsch, *Anfänge*, 68-70, who assumes that both texts represent cultic rules, differing insofar as 1 Tim 2:9-10 expands the scope of cultic regulations to general attitude. Some of these authors even suppose that 1 Tim 2:9-15 could stem from the same circle which formulated the household codes in Eph and Col, but it is more likely that 1 Tim reflects a later, more conservative tradition (see Wagener, *Ordnung*, 63).

⁹³ This reading is based on the fact that in ancient Greek κεφαλή is not used as "ruler", but as "source": Murphy-O'Connor, *1 Cor*, 808; Schrage, *1 Kor*, 2, 501-505 and the quoted

A reference to the first account of creation appears in v. 7: the man is not supposed to cover his head (or to wear long hair), because he is the image and glory (εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα) of God. This is not only an allusion to, but also a reinterpretation of Gen 1:26-27, since in Paul the resemblance to God is a male attribute.

The third argument (v. 9) draws from Gen 2. Paul reinforces the implicit androcentrism of the account, emphasising that “man is not from (ἐκ) woman, but woman from man; nor was man created for/through (διὰ) woman, but woman for/through man” (vv. 8-9). Nonetheless, his subsequent reflection seems to correct this one-sided perspective, as he goes on stating the interdependence between man and woman, even in terms of origin (11:11-12).

1 Tim 2:13 legitimates the restrictions regarding women’s public role⁹⁴ by references to Gen 2-3. In 1 Tim 2 there is no mention anymore of the woman being the man’s δόξα. The chronological precedence of the man in creation (Gen 2), understood as a sign of his superiority, becomes even more categorical: the reciprocity-statement of 1 Cor 11:11-12 can no longer be found in 1 Tim 2.⁹⁵ Additionally, submission and exclusion are legitimised not only by the chronological order of creation, but also by a reference to the Fall, in the interpretative line of Sir 25:24 and Philo (*QG* I). The woman (not only Eve!) is allegedly liable to deception by nature.⁹⁶ Thus in 1 Tim 2 “Paul” makes use of another fictitious self-reference, in order to severely restrict the public ministry of women, based on the order of creation and on additional hamartiological arguments.

literature; Klauck, *1 Kor*, 81; cf. also LSJ, s.v. κεφαλή. For the use of κεφαλή in the sense of “ruler” pleads Fitzmyer, “Kephale in I Corinthians 11:3”, *Interpretation* 47.1 (1993) 52-59. It is possible however that Paul has a subordinationist view of both Christology (cf. 1 Cor 15:24-28) and society. This reading of 1 Cor 11:3 will be preferred by Eph 5:22-24, which legitimates women’s submission from the man’s headship. Theophylact combines the two meanings: the head of the woman is the man, to rule her, the head of Christ is God, as his cause, like the Father is the cause of the Son (*Exp. Ep. 1 Cor.* XI, PG 124, 693CD). See also BDAG, s.v. κεφαλή, “being of high status”, denoting superior rank.

⁹⁴ It is not the aim of this paper to discuss the reasons for the prohibition to teach or to exert authority over men, nor its various interpretations.

⁹⁵ Merz rightly speaks of the “neutralisation” of the potential corrective function of 1 Cor 11:11-12 (*Selbstausslegung*, 341-343).

⁹⁶ The argumentation based on the woman’s predisposition to be deceived has already been used by Philo, *QG* (SC 34A, Paris: Cerf, 1979) I, 33 (100/101). Cf. *QG* I, 43 (SC 34A, 108/109).

2.2.3.2 Social and Natural Legitimation

The rules regulating dressing and hairstyle were obviously part of a social code, as proved by a vast number of ancient sources.⁹⁷ Dressing code and rules regulating hairdo were related to gender roles, and implicitly to biological roles.⁹⁸ This interrelation is exemplified by Paul's argument from nature in 1 Cor 11:14.⁹⁹ The same kind of connection between social expectations regarding feminine adornment and gender roles can be found

⁹⁷ "Most women, if they are taken away their shoes ornamented with gold, their necklaces, bracelets, their purple and pearls (μαργαρίταις), will stay indoor" (Plutarch, *Coniug. Praec.*, *Mor* 142C, LCL). Compare *Mor* 141E: "that adorns or decorates a woman, which makes her more decorous. It is not gold or precious stones or scarlet that makes her such, but whatever invests her with that something which betokens dignity, good behaviour, and modesty." See also Melissa's letter to Kleareta: "Ἐχοις ἂν ἐπὶ τὰς ὄψις ἐρύθαμα μὲν σαμείον αἰδοῦς ἀντὶ φύκιος, καλοκαγαθίαν δὲ καὶ κοσμιότατα καὶ σωφροσύναν ἀντὶ χρυσῷ καὶ σμαράγδῳ. οὐ γὰρ ἐς τὰν τᾶς ἐσθλότητος πολυτέλειαν φιλοκαλεῖν δεῖ τὴν γλιχόμεναν τᾶς σωφροσύνας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῷ οἴκῳ (Städele, *Briefe*, 160-163 [160,15-17.18-19]). On ancient criticism of costly adornment and hairstyles see also Dibelius/Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 46; D. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive. The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (SBLMS 26; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981) 101-102; Wagener, *Ordnung*, 83-85; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 449-450; Towner, *Letters*, 208-209, Witherington, *Letters*, 224-225.

⁹⁸ Long hair and elaborated hairstyle in men were regarded as a sign of homosexuality/pederasty, repudiated as effeminacy, cf. Philo, *Spec. leg.* 3.37 (SC 25, Paris: Cerf, 1970, 80): μηδὲν ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐῶντες ὑποτύφεσθαι περιφανῶς οὕτως τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι. His view on gender roles and sexual behaviour according to nature, marked by external appearance, is shared by Pseudo-Phocylides as well. Both follow Plato's view on nature and gender/sexual roles. See the ample discussion by R.B. Ward, "Why Unnatural? The Tradition behind Romans 1:26-27", *HThR*, 90.3 (1997) 263-284; cf. P. W. van der Horst, *Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament*, in id., *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (NTOA 14; Göttingen: V&R, 1990) 19-34; Murphy-O'Connor, *1 Cor*, 808-809; Klauck, *1 Kor*, 80. Untied long hair in women marked participation in ecstatic cults, assimilated with moral and sexual impurity, while short hair was regarded as unfeminine (Schüssler Fiorenza, *Memory*, 227-228; Klauck, *1 Kor*, 80-81; Schrage, *1 Kor*, 2, 492-494, 505-509; Küchler, *Schweigen*, 79-82).

⁹⁹ On the relationship between veiling, hair and sexuality see T.W. Martin, "Paul's Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13-15: A Testicle Instead of a Head Covering", *JBL* 123.1 (2004) 75-84. His argument makes sense in the context of wild ancient physiological speculations. Whether Paul had indeed such physiological explanation in mind, is difficult to tell. The argument from nature could also imply that men and women should assume gender roles (in agreement with their biological role), as suggested e.g. by Philo's condemnation of passive and active pederasts (*Spec. leg.* 3.37, 39); see also 3, 32-33, 34-36 on other practices "against nature".

in 1 Tim 2:9-15 as well. The author not only offers a stereotyped description of the manner in which women are supposed to dress, but he also asserts that the only acceptable role through which women can attain salvation is childbearing.

3. Conclusion

The first part of the essay has shown that there are several ways for dealing with 1 Tim 2:9. Κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς may be deleted as a secondary expansion, or the ellipsis can be supplied with the entire clause in v. 8, with βούλομαι or with βούλομαι προσεύχεσθαι. The latter reading does not interfere with the text, it can work grammatically, and it provides a thematic unity between vv. 8 and 9-10. Yet none of these solutions is without difficulties, and the text is ambiguous. This ambiguity is due to a merger of literary genres, and proves to be ideologically useful. As such it is likely to be intentional, as indicated by the similarly equivocal 1 Tim 3:9.¹⁰⁰

The intertextual approach shows that 1 Timothy very likely used as a pre-text the cultic rule found in 1 Cor 11, together with its broader context. This rule addressed praying and prophesying men and women, and articulated certain expectations regarding their appearance at worship. The rule was given a theological (Gen 1:26-27; 2:21-23) and a social-natural legitimation, based on gender roles. 1 Timothy amplifies Paul's one-sided reading of Gen, eliminating the positive reference to Gen 1:26-27, as well as Paul's concession on the interdependence between man and woman. The author proposes a restrictive, "corrective" re-interpretation of 1 Cor 11:11-12. To the theological legitimation based on the priority of man in creation 1 Timothy adds a hamartiological argument from Gen 3. Moreover, the relecture of Gen 3 is profoundly unilateral, making Eve the sole responsible for the Fall, and extending this blame to all women.

Additionally the meaning of the catchwords taken from the context (συνείδησις, βλασφημία, Paul's example and apostolic authority) is also modified, in order to "correct" some Pauline ideas. Thus freedom of conscience is replaced with perfect adherence to sound doctrine and strict

¹⁰⁰⁾ Oberlinner, *1 Tim*, 142 thinks that the author is probably obliged to mention the deaconesses in the catalogue of ministers, as they fulfil their task in the church for a longer time, but this brief, almost hidden reference in the mirror of the deacons, in the broader context of the silence commandment suggests that he places them in the shadow of their male colleagues, with the probably voluntarily ambiguous γυναῖκες.

observance of the ecclesial rules, which guarantee a good conscience. “Paul” becomes an absolute reference-point whose will is manifested in “Timothy”’s authority.

A second pre-text used in 1 Tim 2 is a combination of a station code tradition and Neo-Pythagorean-like exhortations, based on popular philosophical *topoi* regarding women and specific gender roles. These comprise requirements about the modest, respectable attire and adorning with good deeds instead of jewellery. Other *topoi* refer to typically feminine virtues, such as αἰδώς and σωφροσύνη, silence and subordination to man.¹⁰¹ Through the expansion of the congregational context with the station code tradition, 1 Timothy extends the scope of the restrictive rule to both the role of women in the church and in Christian life in general.

Men’s prayer is further regulated and prophecy is eliminated. A charisma potentially given to everyone is replaced by the institutional ministry that secures the orderly life of the community. This order is safeguarded by “Timothy”, who acts with “Paul”’s authority. Prophecy has no place in the cultic rule anymore, because authoritative instruction is no longer an attribute of any Christian, not even of men, but of ordained office-holders.

Further, 1 Timothy not only omits prophesying in case of women, but also obscures the reference to προσεύχομαι, opting for the more ambiguous ὡσαύτως [καὶ] γυναῖκας. This ambiguity is enhanced by the combination of the cultic rule with the station code tradition.¹⁰² While prophecy is described by Paul as a form of instruction, of authoritative speech (1 Cor 14:19, 31), open to women (11:5), 1 Timothy prohibits women to teach or to exert authority over men. This prohibition, formulated in line with 1 Cor 14:34-35, is a fictitious self-reference, which comes to “correct” 1 Cor 11:5. Implicitly, 1 Timothy also “corrects” the potentially “misleading” Pauline assertion that all should learn (μανθάνω, 1 Cor 14:31). Through another unmarked corrective fictitious self-reference “Paul” now clearly states that women should not teach, but should learn (μανθάνω) in all submissiveness.

¹⁰¹ A. Malherbe, “The *Virtus Feminarum* in 1 Timothy 2:9-15”, in M.W. Hamilton, Th.H. Olbricht, J. Peterson (eds.), *Renewing Tradition. Studies in Texts and Contexts in Honor of James W. Thompson* (PTMS 65; Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2007) 45-65; Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, 275-276.

¹⁰² Bartsch has rightly remarked that the reason for the difficulty of delimitating the cultic rule from the rules regulating general behaviour lies in the fact that the author himself is not interested in such delimitation (*Anfänge*, 60). Cf. Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74.

Thus in 1 Timothy “Paul” reinterprets Paul, who had clearly endorsed men to pray *and* to prophesy, i.e. publicly exercise authoritative speech, and had manifested at least a tacit approval of women praying and prophesying. In 1 Tim 2:8-15, men are to pray, but they are no longer expected to prophesy. Women are left in an ambiguous position: the formulation of the requirements is vague enough to presume that they are or are not permitted to pray in public. What is obvious is that they are certainly prohibited from speaking with authority, and they are only expected to adopt the traditional gender role of household management and childbearing.

The ellipsis in 1 Tim 2:9 is more than a grammatical nicety.



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Review Essay

Oxyrhynchitica

J.K. Elliott
Leeds

R. Hatzilambrou, P.J. Parsons and J. Chapa (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXI 4803-4843 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), xi + 164 pp. plus twelve pages of plates (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 91), £65, ISBN 0856981745.

N. Gonis and D. Colombo (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXII 4844-4930 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2008) xiii + 203 pp. plus sixteen pages of plates (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 92) £65 ISBN 0856981818.

A.K. Bowman, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2007) xiv + 407 pp. plus thirty plates (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 93) £65 ISBN 085698177.

P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Papyri beneath the Egyptian Sand Reveal a Long-Lost World* (London: Phoenix, 2007) pp. xx + 258 pp. £9.99 ISBN 0753822333 (Pb).

The remains of Biblical and apocryphal texts found amid the rubbish spoils of Oxyrhynchus have excited theologians for over a century. Two recent volumes in the series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* containing New Testament fragments have been published. In addition, two fascinating allied volumes are of note.

a) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXI contains new literary texts (including fragments of a lost play by Sophocles), Homer and Homerica, documentary

texts and four new fragments of John's Gospel. These are: 4803 (John 1:21-28; 38-44); 4804 (John 1:25-28, thus paralleling 4803; 33-38; 42-44); 4805 (John 19:17-18; 25-26); 4806 (John 21:11-14; 22-24); Juan Chapa has edited them. The datings range from 3rd- 4th/ 5th centuries.

4804 is said (p. 6) to comprise three fragments but the transcription and photographs show text on only two fragments. Some of the distinctive readings in these papyri should merit their inclusion in a future apparatus to a critical edition (see J.K. Elliott, "Four New Papyri containing the Fourth Gospel and their Relevance for the *Apparatus Criticus*," *JTS* 59 [2008]).

These four witnesses are registered in the Gregory-Aland sequence as papyri 119-122 respectively.

b) The next volume in the series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXII also contains New Testament material. These are 4844 (1 Cor. 14:31-34; 15:3-6) and 4845 (2 Cor. 11:1-4, 6-9) and are edited by J. David Thomas. They are registered as P¹²³ (fourth century) and P¹²⁴ (sixth century) respectively. It will be noted that P¹²³ has I Cor. 14: 34 in its normal place.

The volume also contains texts under the following headings: Hexameter poetry; Rhetorical texts; Documents of the Roman period; Documents of the Byzantine period.

c) Oxyrhynchus numbers 4838-4843 are listed in volume LXXI p. 149. These belong to a rare category "Drawings". The contents of four of those texts are described (on pp. 296-306) in an allied publication in the same series: *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*. This is a much more lavish publication than the usual *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* and is in effect a coffee-table volume to commemorate a century of work on the Oxyrhynchus materials. It is based in part on papers given at a symposium held in 1998 to mark that centenary. The volume includes twenty-nine essays, covering topics such as the archaeological site at Bahnasa, the nature and contents of the texts discovered and what these reveal of society and government, literature, art and science. Some archive material, such as reproduced articles by Flinders Petrie, E.G. Turner and Grenfell and Hunt make fascinating reading. The book is well illustrated throughout. It provides a splendid progress report on what was found, where and how, and the importance of the finds. Of particular interest to readers of *Novum Testamentum* will be Eldon J. Epp, "New Testament Papyri and the Transmission of the New Testament" (pp. 315-31), updating (at least to 2004) previous surveys by

himself and others, as well as Peter Parsons' article "Copyists of Oxyrhynchus" (pp. 262-70) where he discusses the nature of scribal activity revealed in the fragments.

d) Parsons' enviably readable and lucid style reveals itself more fully in his *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*. His perceptive insights into the highly regulated agrarian society in Oxyrhynchus, its government and organisation, relations with the wider world, its commerce, learning, and personal issues (family life, education, illnesses) and its religious practices, not least Christianity, come from his lifetime's involvement with publishing its literary remains. This eminently readable book should encourage readers of this journal to look not only at the Biblical remnants published in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* volumes but also at its other material, in particular its documentary texts. There are a few typos, particularly in the appended Bibliography and in the chapter "Christians and Christianities". A timeline, a glossary and an appended set of "Notes" aid the usefulness of this interesting book, now issued as a paperback.

Book Review

Ivan Z. Dimitrov, James D.G. Dunn, Ulrich Luz, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (eds.), *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), xiv + 379 pp., ISBN 3-16-148427-4, 99 € (WUNT 174).

Der vorliegende Band enthält die Vorträge der zweiten europäischen orthodox-westlichen Exegetenkonferenz, die im September 2001 in Bulgarien stattfand. An der Konferenz nahmen Alt- und Neutestamentler verschiedener christlicher Konfessionen teil, sowie ein jüdischer Forscher. Das einführende Vorwort (XI-XIV) beschreibt Anlass, Durchführung und die besonderen Chancen und Herausforderungen dieser Begegnung.

Der *erste Teil* beinhaltet Aufsätze zum Thema *Das Alte Testament in der christlichen Tradition*. P. Grech gibt einen Überblick über "Problems of OT Interpretation in the First Centuries" (3-19). C. Karakolis bietet "Erwägungen zur Exegese des AT bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern: Eine orthodoxe Sicht" (21-38; zur Methode der patristischen Exegese des AT, geistliche Voraussetzungen, die christologische Grundfrage, die soteriologische Ausrichtung, die Beziehung des AT zum NT) und plädiert für einen Dialog zwischen der patristischen Exegese des AT und der modernen atl. Wissenschaft.

Daran anknüpfend präsentiert D. Bumazhnov, "Zwei Fallstudien zur Exegese des Alten Testaments bei den Kirchenvätern: I. Die Auslegung der Jonageschichte in *De resurrectione* des hl. Methodius von Olympos" (39-53, mit griech. Text und dt. Übersetzung); II. Die Erschaffung des Menschen und ihre Implikationen in der koptischen Homilie des Ps.-Athanasius *De anima et corpore*" (54-89, mit dt. Übersetzung). A.A. Alexeev beschreibt "The OT Lections in Orthodox Worship" (91-117). V. Mihoc untersucht "The Messianic Prophecies of the OT: An Orthodox Perspective" (119-136; er vertritt die These "What we Orthodox see as our Holy Tradition as concerning the Christological approach of the OT is actually Jesus Christ's tradition and the NT's tradition", 136). Abschließend zieht K.-W. Niebuhr ein "Resümee der Diskussionen" (137-141) unter drei Überschriften:

Zur Exegese der Kirchenväter und zur historisch-kritischen Exegese des AT, AT und jüdisch-christliches Gespräch (u. a. mit einer Würdigung des bisher spärlichen jüdisch-orthodoxen Dialogs) sowie der christologische Ausgangspunkt bei der christlichen Interpretation des AT (Darstellung der Unterschiede zwischen der orthodoxen und der westlichen—evangelisch und katholisch—Position).

Im zweiten Teil geht es um *Das AT im NT und im antiken Judentum*. I.Z. Dimitrov schildert einführend aus orthodoxer Sicht "The Relationship Between the OT and the NT" (145-53) dazu gehört "The OT in the Light of the NT" und "The OT in the Sacred Writers of the NT", zum zweiten Aspekt entfaltet Dimitrov die folgenden Thesen: "Jesus Christ underlines the authority of the OT, the preparatory role of the OT, Jesus Christ recognised the divine inspiration of the biblical writers, the OT as a guide towards Christ, NT authors recognize the Divine inspiration of the OT, the place and authority of the deuterocanonical books, modern Orthodox scholars follow early church tradition, the new understanding of the meaning of the OT is accepted." Dem folgt D. Sängler mit "Das AT im NT: Eine Problemskizze aus westlicher Sicht" (155-203). Aus jüdischer Sicht beschreibt M.F. Mach, "Der Tanach in der Rezeption des nachbiblischen Judentums" (205-232). Wieder zieht K.-W. Niebuhr das "Resümee der Diskussionen" (233-235): "Beide Perspektiven stimmen darin überein, dass sie von einer grundsätzlichen Einheit der beiden Testamente im Rahmen christlicher Bibelauslegung ausgehen. Dabei ist der orthodoxe Ansatz dominant von einer ntl. Perspektive her bestimmt, während in der westlichen Exegese der vorchristliche Eigenwert des AT stärker, bisweilen sogar ausschließlich berücksichtigt wird" (234). Die orthodoxe Position beschreibt Niebuhr wie folgt:

Aus der Sicht der "westlichen" Bibelwissenschaft erscheint die Darstellung der orthodoxen Position zur Verhältnisbestimmung von AT und NT als einseitig christologisch bestimmt. ... Dazu ist festzuhalten, dass für orthodoxe Exegeten das Verhältnis zwischen AT und NT in der Regel nicht als ein wesentliches und schwieriges Problem der Schriftauslegung gesehen wird. Dominant ist hier eher eine heilsgeschichtlich und christologisch ausgerichtete Interpretation des AT. Deutlicher artikuliert wird demgegenüber aus orthodoxer Sicht die Kritik an einer Auslegung des AT, die sich in historisch-kritischen Analysen erschöpft und die Frage nach einer Deutung atl. Aussagen auf Christus hin beiseite läßt. Auch ein orthodoxer Alttestamentler beginnt seine Arbeit mit einer historisch-kritischen Exegese, aber darüber hinausgehend interessiert ihn die Nach- bzw. Wirkungsgeschichte des Textes, die über das Frühjudentum in das NT und die von der ganzen Bibel angestoßene und genährte kirchliche Tradition

hineinwirkt. Das AT wird als Autorität in der Gemeinschaft der Kirche wahrgenommen, die sich als Gottesvolk des Neuen Bundes in Fortsetzung des atl. Gottesvolkes Israel versteht. Eine Lektüre des AT ohne den Blick auf Christus würde den Glauben dieses Gottesvolkes relativieren (233).

Teil drei untersucht den *Kanon des AT*. R.W.L. Moberly schreibt "The Canon of the OT: Some Historical and Hermeneutical Reflections from a Western Perspective" (239-257; der Kanon des AT als modernes historisches Problem, veränderte Schwerpunkte in der neueren Diskussion, die Yale-Schule (B. Childs, C. Seitz, S. Chapman, G. Sheppard) sowie drei Bausteine für eine christliche atl. Hermeneutik). P. Vassiliadis beleuchtet "Canon and Authority of Scripture: An Orthodox Hermeneutical Perspective" (259-276, Darstellung des liturgischen Hintergrunds, Verständnis der Tradition, ein eucharistisches Kriterium, ekklesiale, pneumatologische und christologische Perspektiven, "in fact a questioning of the ultimate authority given to the concept of the canon in the West", 276). C. Dohmen präsentiert "Der Kanon des AT: Eine westliche hermeneutische Perspektive" (277-297; Funktion für die Glaubensgemeinschaft, die Entwicklung zum Kanon, Markions Provokation und die Antwort der Kirche, die Differenz zwischen TaNaK und AT, TaNaK und LXX, zwei unterschiedliche Kanonstrukturen, ein dritter Teil—oder Erweiterung der "Propheten", *Tora*-Perspektive gegenüber *Propheten*-Perspektive, die Struktur der christlichen Bibel AT und NT, die zweifache Leseweise des AT in der christlichen Bibel, "Israelerinnerung" als Konsequenz, d. h. "Ein so verstandenes AT verbindet mit den jüdischen Wurzeln des Christentums, indem es das Judentum nicht enterbt, sondern als Erstadressat der Heiligen Schrift ernst nimmt und sich erinnernd mit ihm verbindet. Hermeneutik des AT ist folglich Israelerinnerung", 297). Abschließend fasst K.-W. Niebuhr die Diskussionen unter den Überschriften "Zur Gestalt, zum Bestand und zur Autorität des atl. Kanons", "Der Kanon des AT und die Traditionen der Kirchen", "Zur Hermeneutik des atl. Kanons" zusammen (299-303).

Der *vierte Teil* beleuchtet einige *messianische Texte des AT und ihre christliche Interpretation*. F.-L. Hossfeld bietet "Messianische Texte des Psalters: Ein Überblick mit hermeneutischen Konsequenzen" (307-324). D. Kaimakis steuert "Der zweite Psalm: Eine orthodoxe Annäherung" (325-337) bei, M. Konstantinou "Jesaja 11: 1-9. Exegetische Einführung" (339-345, mit einführenden Überlegungen zu den Unterschieden zwischen orthodoxer und westlicher Exegese; "Doch läßt die typologische Auslegung, mit

ihrem bewusst subjektivistischen Charakter und ihrer Flexibilität, viel mehr Raum frei für immer neue Interpretationen und Annäherungen an die biblischen Texte als die 'objektivistischen' Methoden der historisch-kritischen Forschung", 345). W.A. Beuken untersucht "The 'Messianic' Character of Isaiah Ch. 11: East and West: Alien Perspectives?" (347-358). K.-W. Niebuhr schließt mit "Messianische Texte im AT und ihre christliche Interpretation: Resümee der Diskussionen" (359-362). Er umreißt das Verhältnis von textorientierten und rezeptionsorientierten Auslegungen des AT. Dabei ist die entscheidende Frage: "Ist die christologische Interpretation atl. Texte als Verstehensvoraussetzung für eine christliche Bibelauslegung legitim oder gar geradezu geboten, oder können oder müssen gar die messianischen Texte des AT auch oder wenigstens zunächst einmal abgesehen von ihrer christologischen Deutung gelesen oder interpretiert werden. Dieser entscheidenden Frage gegenüber erweisen sich die Unterschiede in der jeweils angewandten Auslegungsmethodik als sekundär" (360). Ferner geht es um die Entwicklung messianischer Konzeptionen innerhalb der atl. Traditionsbildung und um die unterschiedliche Hermeneutik messianischer Texte.

Der Band endet mit einem hervorragenden Überblick von K.-W. Niebuhr über "Das AT in der orthodoxen und der 'westlichen' Bibelwissenschaft: Zum Stand und zu den Perspektiven des Gesprächs" (365-400). Niebuhr fasst zunächst die Ergebnisse des Symposiums zusammen (u. a., "dass es kaum Differenzen zwischen orthodoxer und nicht-orthodoxer Exegese bei der Bewertung und Anwendung philologischer und historischer Methoden gebe, während die Differenzen bei der theologischen Interpretation der exegetischen Befunde weiterhin erheblich sind", 365). Dem folgt ein detaillierter Überblick über die Probleme biblischer Hermeneutik im ökumenischen Gespräch und eine Analyse der bisher auf Weltebene stattgefundenen Dialoge, bzw. zwischen den Evangelischen Kirchen in Deutschland und orthodoxen Kirchen, sowie eine Zusammenstellung weiterer relevanter Texte zu Fragen der Schriftexegese und Hermeneutik. Abschließend zeigt Niebuhr Perspektiven für weitere Zusammenarbeit auf und beschreibt verschiedene Kooperationen. Deren Ziel besteht darin:

... eine orthodoxe Bibelwissenschaft zu fördern und zu unterstützen, die sich weder auf einen vorwissenschaftlichen Traditionalismus festlegen lässt noch lediglich eine zeitlich verzögerte Kopie westlicher Bibelwissenschaftstraditionen darstellt, sondern ihr eigenes Profil entwickelt und gerade dadurch ihren Beitrag zu leisten vermag bei der Suche nach einer theologischen Identität sowohl im Kontext der eigenen

kirchlichen Tradition als auch im ökumenischen und internationalen wissenschaftlichen Gespräch über die Bibel (400).

Ein Verzeichnis der Teilnehmer am Symposium (401f) und verschiedene Register (403-420) beenden den hervorragend produzierten Band. Er bietet eine interessante Bestandsaufnahme und zeigt sowohl die Nähe als auch die Distanz zwischen westlicher und orthodoxer Bibelwissenschaft und Theologie. Für Leser, die mit der westlichen Perspektive vertraut sind, ergeben sich neue Fragen und Perspektiven, die in ihrer Tradition nur teilweise oder nicht mehr auftauchen. Auch wenn die orthodoxen Antworten an einigen Stellen nicht überzeugen bzw. im westlichen Kontext zumindest der Modifikation bedürfen, wird man auf offene Fragen gestoßen, sieht die (auch innerhalb der westlichen Bibelwissenschaften heute längst diskutierten!) Aporien der eigenen Position und wird zu eigenen Antworten angeregt.

Zu fragen wäre, wie repräsentativ die Teilnehmer und Beiträge aus beiden Bereichen waren. Die "westliche" Position wird beinahe ausschließlich auf die klassische universitäre historisch-kritische Exegese der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte beschränkt. Was *zuvor* die westliche Bibelwissenschaft und ihr Verständnis des AT bestimmt hat, wird kaum deutlich. Wie verhalten sich die Bibelwissenschaften der westlichen Kirche *vor* der Aufklärung zur zeitgenössischen und heutigen orthodoxen Bibelwissenschaft? Zum anderen hat es auch im Westen, bei aller Vorherrschaft der historischen Kritik auch immer andere Stimmen gegeben, die teils sehr viel näher an der orthodoxen Position waren und sich z. B. ebenfalls um ein christologisches Verständnis des AT bemüht haben (z. B.E.W. Hengstenberg). Und ist die "westliche Bibelwissenschaft" so homogen, wie sie hier erscheint? Welches Bild hätte sich ergeben, wenn auch einige nordamerikanische (oder andere) Kollegen, die sich neueren methodischen Ansätzen verpflichtet fühlen, zu Wort gekommen wären? Sind die im Westen wie im Osten von evangelikalischen Forschern vertretenen Positionen eine mögliche Brücke zwischen westlicher und orthodoxer Bibelwissenschaft? Bei den orthodoxen Beiträgen wäre zu bedenken, dass es in vielen mehrheitlich orthodoxen Ländern in Ost- und Südeuropa durchaus auch katholische, evangelische und freikirchliche theologische Stimmen gibt, die hier nicht zu hören sind.

Insgesamt ein anregender Band, der in die gegenwärtige orthodoxe Bibelwissenschaft einführt, verschiedene Prämissen und methodische Zugänge aufzeigt sowie auf Fragen und Themen hinweist, die in der westlichen Bibelwissenschaft unterbelichtet sind. Freilich zeigen die Vergleiche

auch das ambivalente Profil eines Teils der westlichen Bibelwissenschaften. Für das Anliegen einer Biblischen Theologie wird man in den Beiträgen der orthodoxen Autoren interessante Anregungen finden, die freilich auch die Stärken und Schwächen einer von der Aufklärung herkommenden und sich zurzeit schnell verändernden westlichen Bibelwissenschaft deutlicher profilieren.

Christoph Stenschke

Book Notes

1.) Henk Jan de Jonge and Johannes Tromp (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel and its Influence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) xiii + 218 pp. ISBN 9780754655831 £50. Four years ago Ashgate published *The Book of Zechariah and its Influence* (reviewed in an earlier "Book Notes"). That collection of essays arose from a conference in 2002 arranged by the university theology faculties in the twinned cities of Leiden and Oxford. The latest book, on Ezekiel, comes from a similar conference in 2004; some of the contributors are inevitably the same. (Future biennial conferences and possibly the papers emanating from them will include contributors from another of Oxford's twin cities, Bonn). The present book contains 13 essays: many of them are concerned with the influence of Ezekiel on the New Testament and early Christianity (thus there are papers on Ezek 37 and 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; Ezek 16:9 and Eph 5:26; Sodom in Q10:12 and Ezek 16:48-52, but others look at Ezekiel's influence elsewhere, for example the distinctiveness of the LXX version at Ezek 21: 25-27 (= MT vv. 30-32), or 1 Enoch 14 and the heavenly ascent of Ezek 40-42. There is an interesting piece on another Ezekiel, the Tragedian, and the possible influence of the prophet's *merkavah* on the drama's account of Moses' vision of the throne. Christopher Rowland looks at the influence of Ezekiel's *merkavah* on art, especially that of William Blake. Those and indeed all the essays make up a coherent and helpful volume that covers many aspects of Ezekiel's influence and his intentions.

2.) John M.G. Barclay, *Against Apion* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) lxxi + 430 pp. ISBN 9789004117914 €149. This is the latest volume (no. 10) in the series *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary* edited by Steve Mason. Barclay's research, hard work and thoughtful analysis of *Contra Apion* are evident throughout. He was fortunate to have had access to the Münster critical text (subsequently published), which was helpful. His translation and particularly his detailed exegetical commentary put us in his debt. *Contra Apion* may be relatively short (only two books) but it has Josephus at his rhetorical best, and the unravelling and interpreting of such a sophisticated writing make exegesis complicated. There are several *excursus* in appendices, such as the inevitable essay on the perennial topic whether Josephus was putting Judaism in Roman dress, and two separate introductions to Josephus' sources, namely the work of Manetho and of Pseudo-Hecataeus. An *excursus* on the comparative historiography in book 1.6-59 occurs *ad loc.* (pp. 8-21). There are several other so-called "reading options" throughout the commentary wherein various interpretative preferences are set out. Barclay allows himself the indulgence of applying a "post-colonial" approach to the work (explained on pp. lxxiii ff.), by which he means a premium is put on the self-representation of the

subordinate Jewish peoples. Fifty pages of bibliography and indexes conclude a volume that does credit to Brill's Josephus project.

3.) Lee Martin McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission and Authority* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007) xli + 546 pp. ISBN 9781565639256 £16.99. This is the revised and third edition of *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* of 1987, 1995. McDonald is a learned and authoritative scholar on this theme. The volume he co-edited with James Sanders, *The Canon Debate*, published in 2002 (also by Hendrickson) includes a valuable set of new thinking by a variety of scholars. McDonald now duly acknowledges the effect of much of that new thinking in this new edition. Some of the important appendices in the current book, especially the lists and catalogues of Old Testament collections have come (corrected) from *The Canon Debate*. Questions discussed in *The Canon Debate* such as the role of Gnostics, Marcion and the Church Fathers in the formation of the Christian Canon of scripture; the criteria by which questions of canonicity have been decided; the canon known to the Qumran sectaries, Jesus, and the Rabbis have informed McDonald's new thinking behind this rewritten (and retitled) survey. Like Metzger in his *The Canon of the New Testament*, McDonald emphasises both the historical and the theological dimensions to discussions of the Biblical canon. This is an impressive publication: we ought to keep ourselves up to date by acquiring this 3rd. edition.

4.) Timothy Paul Jones, *Misquoting Truth* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2007) 176 pp. ISBN 9780830834471. This slim paperback has been put together by a Southern Baptist pastor from Tulsa to reassure Christians disturbed by Bart Ehrman's text-critical conclusions, especially in *Misquoting Jesus* (known in English as *Whose Word is it?*, reviewed in a recent "Book Notes"). Although his aim is to debunk Ehrman, the book is not the blunt instrument it could have been. Jones has done his homework, deals courteously with Ehrman's arguments but raises doubts about some of his conclusions. The whole turns out to be a helpful antidote to Ehrman and may be used judiciously in any ongoing debate about some of the text-critical cruxes Ehrman, among others, has raised, e.g. at Mark 1:41-43; Luke 22: 19-20; 43-44; 1 Cor 14:34-5; Heb 2:9, and text-critical assumptions about the ways in which the text was transmitted. One may not necessarily approve of Jones' *parti-pris* approach but it is useful to see how conservative readers are reacting to Ehrman and more importantly to see how textual criticism is now being debated in forums outside learned seminars. It joins a sequence of recent polemical publications by conservative scholars (Darrell Bock, N.T. Wright, Ben Witherington III and Craig Evans), determined to mount a counter-offensive against a body of radical non-orthodox studies unleashed in the aftermath of the *Da Vinci Code* phenomenon. Jones may be lumped with other heresy-hunters, but he aims his arrows carefully and hits many targets.

5.) Ιωάννης Δ. Καραβιδopoulos, *Αποκρυφα Χριστιανικά Κείμενα Β Αποκρυφες Πράξεις Επιστολες Αποκαλυψεις* (Thessaloniki: Pournaras Press: 2004) 515 pp. ISBN 960242303X (= *Bibliotheca Biblica* 29). Volume I, on the apocryphal Gospels was published in this series in 1999 and was reviewed (by François Bovon) in *NovT* 44 p. 307. Now we welcome the second half. Here we have modern Greek translations

and short introductory remarks on, among others, the "big five" apocryphal Acts, as well as the Preaching of Peter, Epistles (Lentulus; Laodiceans; Correspondence of Paul and Seneca); and the apocalypses of Peter, of Paul, of John the Theologian and of Thomas. Sections of the Clementine Homilies and the Sibylline Oracles are also given.

6.) The third of the four volumes of Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae* has come commendably quickly on the heels of volume 2. The present volume has as its subtitle *A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition: Acts 13.1-18.32* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007) xiii + 401 pp. ISBN 0567032485 £65. I note with satisfaction that the Preface now promises that alongside the final instalment (volume 4, due within a year) will appear the text of the Greek (and Latin) of Bezae and that of Alexandrinus: reviews of the earlier volumes have bemoaned the absence of these two texts of Acts, especially as Scrivener's edition of Bezae is not readily available.

7.) Brill are to be commended for the speed with which volumes of *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* are appearing. We note with pleasure the publication of *Antiquity* volume 9 Mini-Obe in 2006 (ISBN 9789004122727), 10 Obl-Phe in 2007 (ISBN 9789004142152) and 11 Phi-Prok in 2007 (ISBN 9789004142169). Each is priced at 228 Euros. The allied series *Classical Tradition*, covering the international influence of classical learning, languages, literature and culture more generally up to modern times has also been referred to in earlier Book Notes; this now reaches volume 2 Dem-Ius (ISBN 9789004142220) 228 Euros. The authoritative and readable entries in the *New Pauly* enlighten the wider world of New Testament and post-Biblical knowledge. Brill deserves scholarship's praise also for bringing out another English language version of a tried and trusted German original: *Religion Past and Present*, noted in earlier reviews in this journal. Volume 3 under the editorship of Hans Dieter Betz *et al.* was published in 2007: Chu-Deu (ISBN 9789004 139794). That encyclopaedia is concerned predominantly with Christianity in all its guises. With these encyclopaedias to hand the New Testament scholar is well equipped with accessible and stimulating research tools.

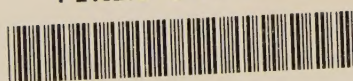
8.) A reprint of G.D. Kilpatrick's 1950 edition of *The Origins of the Gospel according to St Matthew* has just been issued by Bolchazy-Carducci of Wauconda, IL, 2007 (ISBN 9780865166677) at \$35. A preface and a bibliography of Kilpatrick's publications (by J.K. Elliott) and an obituary (by A.M. Devine) have been included. Kilpatrick's study was groundbreaking when first published: ongoing reference to his conclusions has made this re-issue necessary and welcome.

9.) Eberhard Güting's *Ausserbiblische Zeugnisse über Jesus und das frühe Christentum* based on F.F. Bruce's 1974 publication *Jesus and Christian Origins outside the New Testament* has now been reprinted in a fifth edition. This now bears a subtitle *einschließlich des apokryphen Judasevangeliums* (Giessen and Basle: Brunnen, 2007) ISBN 9783765593666. 24.95 Euros. As well as Judas (in a new chapter of some 20 pages that include a translation of the Gospel of Judas), this edition also makes other changes e.g. see Thallos and Phlegon on pp. 20ff. A new section adding Basilides as a pagan author is added to chapter 1 (but not included in the Index). We commend the edition.



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